WORLD REVIEW OF REVIEWS

Volume I. No. 4. *June* 1936

(*Incorporating* '*REVIEW OF REVIEWS*' *and* '*WORLD*')

40 CHANDOS STREET
LONDON, W.C.2

Telegrams: BOOKSTORE, LONDON
Telephone: TEMPLE BAR 0127—9

WORLD REVIEW is the only English monthly review giving an extensive selection of articles from publications all over the world. These articles are chosen with great care, since WORLD REVIEW can only be valuable as its sponsors want it to be, if it avoids all political bias. The Editor in his own article, and other signed contributors, express their opinions as frankly as they please. Otherwise the Review would lack force and colour. But the ultimate object of WORLD REVIEW is to perform a useful and progressive service by allowing

THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

Editorial Board:

J. W. WHEELER-BENNETT
VERNON BARTLETT
SIR ROGER CHANCE, BART.
JOHN McDOUGALL

CONTENTS

		PAGE
THE WAY OF THE WORLD		
THE LEAGUE IS DEAD: LONG LIVE THE LEAGUE!	*Vernon Bartlett*	9
OPEN FORUM		
ARAB AND JEW IN PALESTINE	*The Rt. Hon. Earl of Lytton, K.G., G.S.C.I., G.C.I.E.*	14
THE MEANING OF THE FRENCH ELECTIONS	*Jacques Kayser, Vice-Pres. of the Radical-Socialist Party*	19
FROM A GENEVA NOTEBOOK	*"Ulysses"*	24
MUSSOLINI: WHAT NEXT?		
ENGLAND'S LESSON	*Karl Silex, "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," Berlin* ..	29
WANTED IN EUROPE	*"Le Temps," Paris*	31
A NEW CAESAR?	*"Journal des Débats," Paris* ..	32
ITALY'S NEW BLACK LEGIONS	*"La République," Paris* ..	32
WHERE THE FAULT LIES	*"Prager Presse," Prague* ..	35
SWEDEN MOURNS THE LEAGUE	*"Svenska Dagbladet," Stockholm* *"Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfahrtstidning," Gothenburg*	36

(*Continued on page* 7)

DR. BARNARDO'S HOMES

CHARTER :

"No Destitute Child Ever Refused Admission." No red tape. No votes required. No waiting list.

For 71 years Dr. Barnardo's Homes have been welcoming the orphan and destitute little people of the Nation, and in that time they have admitted **118,500** needy children. Rescued from unfavourable surroundings, they are given a new environment and trained and placed out in life as honest and capable citizens. Over **8,000** boys and girls and babies are now being supported—the largest family in the world.

Over
8,000 breakfasts
8,000 dinners
8,000 teas
have to be provided every day.

Please send
2/6
for the
children's food.

Cheques and Orders, payable "Dr. Barnardo's Homes" and crossed, may be sent to Dr. Barnardo's Homes, 104 Barnardo House, Stepney Causeway, London, E 1.

Cadbury

MAKER OF FINE CHOCOLATE

AT THE FACTORY IN A GARDEN

BOURNVILLE

CONTENTS—*continued*

		PAGE
THE BLACK MAN SPEAKS	*"Vooruit," The Hague* ..	38
CARTOONS OF THE MONTH ..	.. ..	41
THE DISMAL DANUBE		
ITALY SUPREME IN AUSTRIA ?	*"Neue Zürcher Zeitung," Zürich*	47
ENGLAND'S RESPONSIBILITY	*"Wiener Wirtschaftswoche," Vienna*	48
HABSBURGS MUST RETURN	*"Je Suis Partout," Paris* ..	49
THE NARROW SEAS		
THE DARDANELLES AGAIN	*"Zeitschrift für Politik," Berlin*	52
TURKEY'S STANDPOINT	*"Ankara," Turkey*	55
STALIN BACKS ATATÜRK	*"Izvestia," Moscow* ..	56
SOVIET-TURKISH FRIENDSHIP	*"Moscow News"*	57
UKRAINE WANTS OPEN DOOR	*"Dilo," Lwow, Polish Ukraine*	59
BULGARIA SEES HER CHANCE	*"Slovo" and "Mir," Sofia* ..	59
TURKEY'S MOVE MEANS "REVISION"	*"Dnes," Sofia*	60
GREECE WARNS BULGARIA	*"Eléftheron Vima," Athens* ..	61
THE UBIQUITOUS BOLSHEVIK	*"Journal de Moscou"* ..	62
ON THE AIR		
CRITICS OF EMPIRE BROADCASTS	*"Straits Times," Singapore* ..	64
TELEVISION IN GERMANY	.. ..	66
ARE YOU DYNAMIC?	*Albert Mousset, "Journal de Débats, Paris*	69
ENGLAND SAYS	.. ..	71
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	*From Count Albrecht Montgelas, Aroused Aviators of Newark Air Port* ..	75
TRAVEL		
UNCONVENTIONAL TRAVEL	*Bernard Newman*	79
NATIONAL HIGHWAYS FOR BRITAIN	*Captain G. E. T. Eyston* ..	82
INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF	*Reviews by Captain M. D. Kennedy, Hugh I'A. Fausset, P. Bruchhausen, Stuart Emeny and Brig.-Gen. Sir Percy Sykes*	86
FINANCE		
POLITICAL UNCERTAINTIES DOMINATE MARKETS	*"Rapier"*	94

Price, One Shilling. Annual Subscription, 14*s*. Post Free, (Canada, 13*s*. 6*d*.) Subscription rates for other countries: Austria, Sch. 18. Czechoslovakia, Kr. 80. France, Frs. 50. Germany, Rm. 8. Holland, Fl. 5. Poland, Zl. 18. Sweden, Kr. 14. Switzerland, Frs. 10. United States, $3.50. *Subject to fluctuation of exchange.*

Registered for Magazine Post to Canada and Newfoundland.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/world-review_1936-06_1_4

THE LEAGUE IS DEAD: LONG LIVE THE LEAGUE!

by VERNON BARTLETT

LAMENTABLE and ludicrous! Shameful and shocking! All the alliterative and reproachful adjectives that have appeared in all the articles by Mr. Garvin could hardly express adequately the setback suffered by the British Empire and the League of Nations when Marshal Badoglio entered Addis Ababa on his proud white horse and a broken Haile Selassie slunk into exile in Palestine. Fifty nations, with Great Britain at their head, had shown themselves too weak and too cowardly to restrain one nation, with the most difficult and exposed lines of communication in the world, from winning a war with the help of every illegal and therefore punishable method of destruction. Small wonder that, had we the will to do so, we could fill this Review with translations from every tongue predicting the slow downfall of the British Empire, and the immediate demise of the League! We have not that will, for we believe in neither of those predictions.

Great Britain, some of us argue, has a good alibi. Mr. Eden has always claimed that he could only go as fast and as far as other delegates on the Council, and if they were frightened to take greater risks for peace Great Britain was not to blame. To a limited extent this argument is justified, but it does not save Great Britain from the bitterest criticisms abroad. For Sir Samuel Hoare's speech before the League Assembly last September did convince the representatives of the rest of the world that Great Britain meant business in this Italo-Abyssinian dispute and, if adequately supported on this occasion, would equally mean business in future disputes in Europe. Sir Samuel's acceptance with M. Laval in December of a plan which was

an obvious contradiction of the principles he had enunciated three months before destroyed confidence in British sincerity. The rapid conversion of men as honest as Sir Austen Chamberlain from support of sanctions to hostility to them, merely because Italy has proved more efficient than they had expected, is destroying confidence in British courage.

I write this not in order to attack a government whose Foreign Secretary has in fact shown more courage than any of his predecessors, with the possible exception of Mr. Arthur Henderson, and more than any of his present colleagues at the Council table, with the possible exception of M. Titulescu. That would be a procedure with purely negative results, as the Labour Party has realised since Dr. Dalton followed it in a recent debate in the House of Commons. I record this dwindling confidence in Great Britain because public opinion in that country does not yet realise to what extent the rest of the world believes the British Empire and Italy are now involved in a struggle which must lead to the downfall of one of them. And the rest of the world may have no love for Whitehall, but it would so much prefer the victory of an old, democratic and non-acquisitive Empire than that of a bombastic and acquisitive Fascism that the hesitations of the British government cause widespread alarm and regret.

When this dispute began the foreigner believed that a Machiavellian Mr. Eden was using the League Covenant to give him allies on the cheap against an Italian threat to British colonial possessions or ambitions. And the foreigner was wrong. Now he has changed his mind and has reached the conclusion that a well-meaning and visionary Mr. Eden is endangering the British Empire on account of a too-rigid respect for the articles of the Covenant. And again the foreigner is wrong, although not as wrong as one would like him to be. He is wrong because the Anglo-Italian rivalry would have been at least as great if there had been no League Council table at which it could find expression.

One asks oneself with amazement how those people in England who talk most often about the might of the British Empire could have been the first to welcome Italian aggression in Abyssinia. For the white government which can control that almost impregnable country, which can enlist those formidable fighters in its army, will be the master of Africa. It will command the Red Sea and the Medi-

terranean. The Sudan and Egypt will fall before its poison gas. Or, to prevent that domination, the British Empire will have to fight an imperialist war which would so occupy its forces and its attention that Germany would not resist the temptation to avenge all the petty humiliations she has suffered since 1918 at the hands of France.

Nobody who studies the Italian press or who meets Italians holding positions of authority can believe that the Duce will be contented with his precarious ownership of Abyssinia. As soon as he can borrow money—possibly from the British themselves, but more probably from the Americans—he will go ahead with his plans of conquest. And because the British government feared to accept responsibilities last winter it must now make a far greater effort to check those plans. And the tragedy is that it is making its effort in the same old way—instead of profiting from the fact that Signor Mussolini's ruthless disregard for treaties and covenants has made every nation its ally, it is allowing that opportunity to slip while it builds up a larger army, navy and air force.

Even now a determined British government could check Signor Mussolini's ambitions with the support of almost every State in the world and of almost every British national. In a few years' time, when it has built up a preponderating force, it could still check Signor Mussolini, but it would have lost the support of other States and, in the absence of measures to make the British as contemptuous of individual freedom as the Italians, it would also lose the support of a dangerously large proportion of its nationals. This month Mr. Eden will have his last chance to take the lead. He can still save the League and the Empire from all those setbacks which the pessimists predict.

I write of "setbacks" and not of disasters, for in no circumstances could the efforts of the last few months to prevent war be wasted. The humiliation I expressed at the beginning of this article is felt, I believe, by the vast majority of the population of every progressive country, but that humiliation will pass. A great ideal cannot be destroyed by a few failures to attain it. Even should sanctions against Italy be abolished, even should Great Britain and France condone her crime and seek, under the 1906 treaty, (for the division of Abyssinia, against her will, into spheres of influence) to make shameful profit out of it, nothing could alter the fact that, for the first time in history, one of the leading nations of the world has been subjected

to severe pressure in order to induce it to respect the law.

Our Geneva correspondent, elsewhere in this Review, points out how the League has, in fact, grown stronger with the years. Its attempt to check Japanese aggression in China was limited to a report naming Japan the aggressor and a refusal, still respected, to recognise Manchukuo as an independent State. Those of us who have followed foreign affairs with some care doubted whether the League could recover from that failure and it is, indeed, certain, that the subsequent growth of armaments and distrust is due to that lack of courage. And yet, in less than five years, public opinion forced governments to take much stronger action against another Great Power. That action may not prove strong enough to prevent another war on a stupendous scale, but it will be remembered. In the slow history of mankind a few years do not count and a world war is relatively insignificant.

Fatalists are poor, negative creatures. The people and their governments hesitated to take the risks which would have prevented Marshal Badoglio from reaching Addis Ababa. Then they must be prepared to take greater risks next time. They must, at least, profit from their lesson. They are, in fact, doing so. At no moment since the war has there been so general an appreciation of the facts that peace is indivisible, that treaty-breaking is an infectious disease, that economic concessions by the more fortunate nations are essential if the less fortunate ones are to become peace-loving. The British are taking a far greater interest in events in Austria, Poland, Albania or Jugoslavia than they did even when the murder of an Austrian Archduke at Sarajevo sent them out in their millions to fight. It is quite possible that temporary disillusion may result in a policy of isolation, but it cannot last. Character is built by shocks and disappointments. Mankind is growing up, and the process cannot be prevented by all the reactionary, all the dictatorial, all the timid, governments in the world.

The immediate and inevitable reaction of disappointed politicians is that of bad workmen. They blame their tools. The League Covenant, they argue, cannot be made to work. Our Geneva correspondent deals elsewhere with League reform, but a paragraph or two on the subject is not out of place in an article on this growing rivalry between Great Britain and Italy. For if the British Government is to have such support as other governments can be persuaded

to give it under the League Covenant, it is important that the Covenant should be as effective a document as possible.

In legal practice reform of the Covenant is as difficult as is reform of the American Constitution. In other words, it is almost impossible. It can only be modified by precedents and by political expedients. What modifications are advisable? Can the obligation to prevent war be confined to regions? No, for the British Empire obligation would then extend to every possible region except Eastern Europe, whereas the obligation of other governments would be seriously reduced. Can sanctions be cut out of the Covenant altogether? Yes, if the League is to be an amiable debating society. No, if it is to prevent war.

There is, I think, only one reform which the lessons of the last few months teach one to advocate. At present under the Covenant the League can take no action worth speaking of to prevent war, whereas it is obliged to take very drastic action indeed when war has broken out. The result is that Italy was allowed to spend one whole year preparing her aggression, and at the same time to prevent any preparation on the part of the other nations to check it. And, when once that aggression had begun, these other nations were naturally so reluctant to run the risks involved in drastic action against a nation armed to the teeth and fired with military fervour, that they did all they could to minimise their duty to apply sanctions.

There is nothing to prevent the development of the opposite practice. Preventive and precautionary action, under Article 11, should no longer be optional and capable of prevention by the vote of the potential aggressor. It should be obligatory for every member of the League, irrespective of the region in which aggression is likely to take place. Warlike action—and all sanctions, if they are to be effective, involve the risk of war—might be sufficiently limited according to area or interests to abolish the present cowardly and hypocritical expedients to avoid all mention of Article 16 and its sanctions. To that extent, and to that extent alone, could there be any justification for talk about reforming the League.

It is still our courage, rather than our Covenant, which is inadequate. The lack of it in the past months has immensely increased the problems before the British Empire. But there has been enough of it to justify the bold and triumphant claim: The League is dead, long live the League!

THE OPEN FORUM

ARAB AND JEW IN PALESTINE
Problem of the Legislative Council

by THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF LYTTON, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

In this section we publish articles by men of international fame whose opinions we do not necessarily share. We are honoured this month by a contribution on a subject of the greatest topical importance from Lord Lytton who has recently returned from a visit to Palestine.

THE announcement by the Government of its intention to establish a Legislative Council in Palestine at an early date has aroused the fiercest controversy in that country. The proposal is strongly resented by the Jews, who have declared their determination to take no part in such a Council. The Arabs, who are more disposed to favour the proposal on account of the Jewish opposition to it than from the merits of the proposal itself, are equally determined to hold the Government to its promise, and would regard the abandonment of it as a breach of faith.

Both sides in this controversy are more concerned to voice their propagandist arguments than to consider the difficulties and responsibilities of the Mandatory Power. The first essential for an impartial examination of the Government proposal is to remember the terms of the Mandate itself, by which the policy of the Government is necessarily determined. The preamble of this document sets forth that the British Government shall be entrusted with the Mandate of Palestine and become responsible for putting into effect the Balfour declaration of November 2, 1917, "in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the

civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine."

Having recognised "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine, and the grounds for *reconstituting their national home* in that country," the Mandate then proceeds to describe how this is to be done. *Article* 2 provides that the country is to be placed under such political administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, *and the development of self-governing* institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants.

Article 4 recognises the Jewish agency as the appropriate public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may effect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine.

Other Clauses deal with matters which are beyond the scope of this article.

The important points to be noticed in the terms of the Mandate are: (1) The recognition of the right of the Jews to go to Palestine, not as foreign immigrants but as returning nationals; (2) the imposition on the Mandatory of a duty to introduce such administrative conditions as will secure the development of self-governing institutions.

The words used are not "self-government" but "self-governing institutions," which might mean some form of local self-government, and this has in fact been introduced into the country. The Government claims that this local self-government has been on the whole sufficiently successful in providing the Arab population with a practical experience of administrative methods and the election of representatives to justify the setting up of a legislative body on a wide franchise for the whole country. This claim is denied by the Jews, who point out that at the elections held after the promulgation of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance of 1934, the number of non-Jewish voters on the register was in most parts of the country only a trifling percentage of the local inhabitants. In the Jerusalem district (excluding the City of Jerusalem with its Jewish majority) the number of registered voters in 1934 was only 1,974 out of a population of 164,039. In two out of the four municipalities in this district all the candidates were returned unopposed in the 1934 elections, and of the four villages within the area

in three all the candidates were returned unopposed, while in the fourth no election was held at all. In the Southern district, which includes some of the most highly developed areas in the country, and contains about fifteen Arab villages, only one Arab village is governed by a Local Council. These facts are adduced to show that the experience of local self-governing institutions is not such as to justify the establishment of a central legislature on the basis of manhood suffrage.

But whether the Municipal Corporations Ordinance has been successful or not, there is no doubt that so limited a measure of local self-government would never be regarded by the Arabs as a complete discharge of the obligations of the Mandate. The words of *Article* 2 have always been regarded by them as meaning a form of representative Government for the whole country, and the fact that fifteen years have been allowed to elapse without any attempt to fulfil this obligation of the Mandate is constantly cited by the Arabs as evidence of bad faith. But the reason for the delay is obvious. The purpose of the Mandate as stated in the Preamble is to establish a Jewish national home, and this responsibility of the Administration cannot be transferred to any representative body which is not prepared to accept it. If the Arabs were willing to accept the Mandate in its entirety, the Jews would gladly cooperate in the establishment of a representative Legislative Council for the whole country. But this is just what the Arabs have steadfastly refused to do. They dislike intensely the establishment of a Jewish national home, and their only reason for wanting a Legislative Council is because they think such a Council would help them to hamper Jewish immigration. Can anyone blame the Jews for resisting it on the same grounds ?

The question remains, can a Legislative Council, elected on a communal franchise, responsible to its electors and voting by a majority, function satisfactorily and assist rather than hinder the Administration in the discharge of its difficult functions ? The Government apparently thinks it can, but no one else shares their opinion. That a pledge has been given by the Government on this subject is unquestioned, and the pledge must be redeemed, but even within the limits of the promise to set up a Legislative Council there is room for many alternative methods, and the one chosen by the Government is that which seems to be least suited to the existing conditions in the country and

the least calculated to achieve the desired object. The chief argument for the establishment of a Legislative Council is that it will help to bring the two communities together, and give them a common purpose in promoting the interests of their common country. A Council which was purely advisory might do this, for on such a body the numerical proportion of each community would be immaterial, as neither could outvote the other. But a responsible Council elected on a communal basis can only have the opposite effect. It is notorious that an elected legislature which is out of sympathy with an irremoveable executive only hampers the administration, and is the worst possible preparation for responsible self-government.

It would have been wiser if the Government before announcing its decision had sent a Commission to Palestine to examine the local conditions, and advise how the obligations of the Mandate could best be adapted to existing circumstances. The great advantage of such a procedure would be that evidence would be taken from the different interests in the country, and all the different alternatives would be discussed before any recommendation was made, and the recommendation when made would be open to discussion and criticism before the Government decided whether or not to adopt it. As a result of such a procedure the Government would be made acquainted with the strength and character of every shade of opinion before it announced its own policy. That was the procedure which was adopted in India, and it was equally applicable to the case of Palestine. But this has not been done, and in consequence the Government is faced with the unpleasant alternative of either establishing a constitution which will not function smoothly, which will increase the antagonism between the two communities and serious hamper the local Administration, or abandoning its proposals and incurring the charge of a breach of faith.

What in the circumstances can now be done? There is one obvious step which at this moment would help the situation. The Government has invited a deputation of Arabs to come to London to confer with them.* Let them now invite a deputation of Jews for the same purpose. If these two bodies then sit together in a round table conference, the Government will be able to ascertain how far the two

* *Since the above was written, the Government has proposed sending a Commission of Inquiry to Palestine, instead of receiving an Arab deputation in London.*

communities can cooperate with each other. They will also be able to lay down the conditions under which the obligations of the Mandate can be fulfilled. If either side refuses to meet the other, or if, when they are sitting together, no common ground can be found between them, that would demonstrate the futility of trying to combine such divergent elements in the same Legislative Council. If, on the other hand, the conditions for some harmonious cooperation can be discovered at such a round table conference, the experiment can be introduced with a better chance of success. It is useless to hear each side separately. What is essential, if these people are to work together for the good of their common country, is that they should meet each other face to face, state their arguments and meet the counter-arguments. If there is any goodwill, it can only be found by such a method, and if there is no goodwill, it would be unwise to try and force upon them a procedure which can only result in friction.

It is to be hoped that all those who have the welfare of Palestine at heart, whether their sympathies are chiefly with the Arabs or chiefly with the Jews, will combine in urging upon the Government the desirability of taking this step. It cannot do harm to any of the interest involved, and it may result in much good. In any case, it will help the Government, and it will help Parliament to realise some of the difficulties which have to be overcome before a workable form of self-government can be introduced into Palestine. To modify their existing proposals in the sense desired by either of the two parties would be resented by the other, unless they had previously agreed to such a change. The best prospect of securing such agreement is offered by a joint session with the Government of the representatives of both Jews and Arabs, and a frank and full discussion of the whole problem.

CHINESE ART

A few days ago a Chinese was arrested in Amsterdam for putting forged gulden in circulation. Forged coins of various European nations were found at his house. The suspicion arose that he was the agent of a widespread gang of forgers.

The Chinese is a born master of forgery. The production of counterfeit coin is regarded as a profitable cottage industry, and Chinese forgeries are such masterpieces that they can only be distinguished from the genuine coins with great difficulty.—*Berliner Tageblatt.*

THE MEANING OF THE FRENCH ELECTIONS

by JACQUES KAYSER

Possibly on no occasion since the war have French politics been of greater importance to the British public. We are glad to print the following article written specially for readers of "World Review" by one of the most important younger deputies in France, who is also Vice-President of the Radical-Socialist Party.

The results of the French Elections came as a surprise to everybody. A victory for the Left was expected, of course. But it was not expected to take such a form nor to reach such an extent. Few believed that the Socialists would outnumber the Radicals. The most optimistic Communists did not expect that their party would get more than forty-five seats.

However, if one looks at the figures, the most striking features are the crushing of the Centre, the strengthening of the extremes, the defeat of the Radicals and the victory of the Popular Front, characterised by Socialist gains and a Communist triumph.

The two great victims of the appeal to the country are Colonel de la Rocque and M. Pierre Laval. The defeat of the Radical Party is compensated by the success of the political formula to which it had given its support.

France has unequivocally shown her intention of resisting Fascism to the end. The electoral battle, in accordance with the wishes of the Leagues, was fought on the following issue: "Will France, like so many other countries, undergo a Fascist experiment?"

The answer was clear and decisive.

France does not want Fascism. To avoid an experiment which she considers at once evil and humiliating, she has employed preventive measures which other countries were unable to take. She realised the union of all anti-Fascist forces. Communists and Socialists were divided in Germany, Socialists and bourgeois Liberals in Austria. In France, there has been established a solidarity between the Republican middle-classes, the peasants, and the workers, which is one of the surest obstacles to a Fascist advance.

The Fascist movement is everywhere and always founded on dis-

content. But in France, if discontent is widespread, the electors gave their votes to the Left freely because they have a horror of Fascism and a spontaneous hope that "safety lies on the Left." But let us beware of the disappointments that follow failure; they might prove to be the parents of a real Fascist peril.

Twice already in the course of recent years, the country has been profoundly disappointed.

In 1924, reacting against the financial improvidence and the nationalism of the *Bloc National*, it voted for the Left Cartel. The Cartel failed, dramatic hours of financial panic followed; then came the National Union, M. Poincaré, deflation and devaluation, and the conservative elections of 1928 which carried M. Tardieu to the head of the government.

In 1932, reacting against the mirages of prosperity offered by M. Tardieu, the country voted for the Left Union. The Radicals, led by M. Herriot, took power alone. Profound differences arose between the parties that had cooperated at the elections. The parties of the Right exploited the discord on the Left and provoked the outbreak of February, 1934, M. Doumergue, M. Laval and their Decrees.

Twice deceived, the masses did not want to begin yet another experiment on the same basis. They have maintained their faith in democracy, but they thought this time that every precaution should be taken to avoid a recurrence of failure. And thus, on July 14, 1935, a contract was concluded before a concourse of half a million men, *a defensive and constructive union* of the great political parties of the Left, of ex-soldiers' associations, trade unions and student groups. One slogan was adopted: Bread, Peace, Liberty! This was the slogan defended by the candidates of the Left throughout the country at the elections. This was the slogan that triumphed.

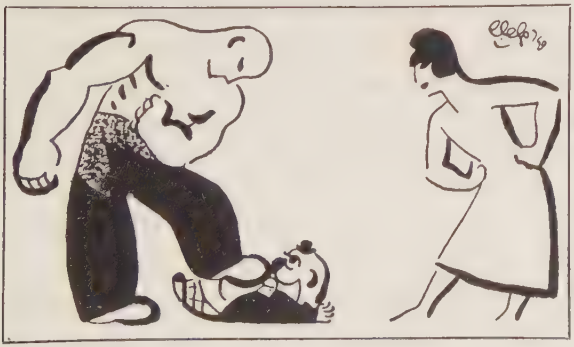
For forty years the Radical Party—apart from one eclipse immediately after the war—has been the largest French party. If we seek the reasons why it has lost a considerable amount of ground, 500,000 votes and fifty seats, and been outdistanced by the Socialists, we reach a double conclusion. First, the masses wanted once more to try the Left experiment with the maximum chance of success. They did not want it to be led by those who had led it to failure in the past. Second, the masses are discontented with the present situation. The Radical Party collaborated with the National Union. Its delegates

in the Government were associated with the Decrees of M. Laval. The Decrees, together with the policy of mathematical economies, were condemned at the General Election.

We have already said that M. Pierre Laval was one of the great victims of the elections. This is evident not only from the fact that the electors pronounced against the deflationary policy to which M. Laval had linked his destiny, but also from certain symbolic personal defeats.

M. Laval has long been Mayor of d'Aubervilliers in the Paris suburbs. There he supported the candidature of his collaborator, M. Foulon, the outgoing deputy. M. Foulon was crushed by the Communist candidate. Four months ago M. Laval became Senator of Puy de Dome. With one exception, the candidates that he supported in that Department were all defeated. Three of M. Laval's Ministers were eliminated by candidates of the Left, in particular M. Fabry, his Minister of War and M. Cathala, his Minister of Agriculture and one of his closest friends.

M. Laval's foreign policy has been implicitly condemned, since the victorious parties defended a programme of mutual assistance, of collective security, of development of the League of Nations—a programme against which M. Laval struggled in silence while he was in power. But it must be realised that in spite of the German *coup de force* of March 7 and the aggravation of the danger weighing on France since that date, in spite of the course taken by the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, and in spite of the polemics in the French press on the subject



"Lumière," Paris

VICTORY OF THE LEFT

Marianne: "If you let him up, you're lost!"

"Marianne," Paris

Deputy: "Why aren't you voting for me any more? I haven't done anything."

of the Franco-Soviet pact, foreign policy did not play a dominating part in the election campaign.

The electors demanded information on this point, just as they demanded explanations, often very technical ones, of the immediate remedies for unemployment or of the measures for raising prices of agricultural products. But their minds were made up—they would vote against Fascism.

This anti-Fascism is not purely defensive. A programme was drawn up by the National Committee of the Popular Front, composed of accredited representatives of the parties and of the great associations of the Left. It consists of a certain number of measures which can hardly meet with opposition, since the champions of the Right were often compelled in the course of the electoral campaign to rally to them.

Right and Left converge

It is a striking fact that from the point of view of immediate measures, little substantial difference appeared between the programmes of the different parties.

The new, sensational fact is that the Right has moved towards anti-capitalism, and the Communists towards a rational conception of patriotism.

Many members of the Right have taken a stand against financial feudalism, against the " two hundred families " which in effect govern the country. They have also—at least in words—risen against the private manufacture of, and trade in, arms. When the time comes for voting, we shall see whether this conversion is demagogic or sincere.

In all public meetings the Communists also, have developed their new outlook. They have talked less of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the class struggle. Instead they have laid stress on a slogan which was hardly to be expected from them : " For a free, strong and happy France ! "

The rallying of the Communists to *La Patrie* and to the Republic is certainly one of the reasons for their vertical ascent. They won not only in the great working-class centres, but also in the countryside. It is a stimulating thought that the Riviera, hitherto considered as one of the most moderate regions in France, has sent two Communist deputies to Parliament. In a general way, the Communists benefited by Socialist votes, while the Socialists won votes from the Radicals.

In a Department like L'Allier in the centre of France, if we take the traditionally Socialist working-class districts of Montluçon, we find that the Socialist vote has fallen in four years from 20,500 to 15,300, while the Communist vote has risen from 7,800 to 14,600. In an agricultural Department like L'Ain the Communist vote has risen in four years from 3,700 to 11,600. In a mixed Department like Bouche du Rhône with Marseilles the Communists won 54,000 votes compared with 15,000 in 1932.

In the Seine Department, the rise of Communism is significant. The Paris district is habitually considered to be the refuge of French nationalism, the centre of the Fascist Leagues' agitation. Before the elections, the Parisian region was represented by 44 deputies of the Right as against 29 of the Left. Today, it has in Parliament 54 deputies of the Left as against 21 of the Right.

Paris, therefore, has recovered its traditional position, the position it held in the time of Gambetta, and which it lost during the Dreyfus affair. The outbreak of February 6, 1934, brought to sight the perils menacing the Republic. As at other times of danger for the Republic, its defenders have united in the path of legality and have triumphed over factious agitation. In spite of the enormous circulation of the Paris press, and although it supported the parties of the Right to the last, the Parisian voter was not impressed. That proves—and this of great importance for foreign observers of the French politics—that the Paris press is neither a mirror of public opinion nor an instrument that controls it for its own ends.

At the time of writing, it is not possible to predict the future development of French politics. If, as is to be hoped and expected, the spirit of our constitutional laws is respected, the next government will be led by a Socialist. It will benefit by at least the support of the Communists and by the participation of the Radicals. It will be supported in the Chamber by a coherent and disciplined majority.

Its experiment will be at once bold and wise. Will it provoke internal uneasiness? All that can be said today is that the country seems resolved to await in calm confidence the results of a policy which it has demanded. It will not tolerate the sabotage of an enterprise, a check to which would have fatal results for both international peace and democratic freedom.

FROM A GENEVA NOTEBOOK

by ULYSSES

(*Our Geneva Correspondent*)

ABYSSINIA has been annexed. What impression has this forcible appropriation of one State member of the League by another State member, which has used every weapon, both legal and illegal, to effect its purpose had upon Geneva? It is not easy to reply, for there are two schools of opinion drawing two distinct conclusions about this heart-breaking business. For the sake of clearness, let me call them the Reform Party and the Status Quo Party. I will try and give the views of both as impartially as I can, and I will start with the Reform Party. The conclusions they draw from the admitted failure of the League appear to be these.

The League has failed because of a structural defect or, to vary the metaphor, an inherent weakness depriving its main organs of their proper strength. It is not universal. One great State has refused to belong to it from the start and two more have withdrawn from it as soon as their vital interests ran counter to the principals of its Covenant. The result of this has been that the League has never been strong enough, and can never be strong enough, to wield the weapons at its disposal. It is, in fact, and always has been, in the position of the Minstrel Boy who girded on his father's sword and slung his wild harp behind him. The League has sometimes successfully soothed the savage breast by playing on the harp, but when that has failed, its performance with the sword is lamentable. It is indeed sometimes a good harpist but always a bad swordsman.

Their second contention, which somewhat contradicts the first, is that the weapon with which the League is provided is inadequate for the purpose. States, they say, have no precise idea of their commitments under Articles 10 and 16 of the Covenant. They were drafted at a time when the world had just witnessed the spectacle of a great nation brought to her knees by a ruthless and finally effective blockade in all spheres, naval, military and economic. Such a blockade they maintain, can only succeed when applied under war conditions and must, to be effective, be at least as much military as it is economic. Thirdly, no small State, or at any rate no small State which marches with a powerful neighbour, can afford to apply Article 16

except with the help of that neighbour, and if that neighbour happens to be the Covenant-breaking State, its application is suicidal.

Their fourth argument smacks of the metaphysical. There is no such thing as a world-conscience. It is doubtful if there is even a world consciousness. Therefore, a universal League must make such large concessions to local public opinion as to destroy in effect its universality. America, for example, cares nothing for Europe except when Europe doesn't pay her debts, and Europe's disregard of the Far East is complete except when Shanghai is directly threatened by the Japanese. This is all very unfortunate but it is a fact and it must be faced. It is far better to have a European League, a Pan-American League and an Asiatic League, for these will pursue each in their different way the common object—peace. If, however, the Reformers are wrong in this and there is a sufficiently highly developed world-conscience, then the Covenant of the League must be so re-worded as to avoid putting too great strain on that conscience.

Finally, sanctions in the present case have proved a practical failure. Abyssinia has not been saved, and could never have been saved except by military action which would have meant another European if not a world war.

To sum up: Lord Lothian is right. The League must be reformed and the reformation must be such that States must know as exactly as possible to what it is they are committed by the Covenant, which means that the Covenant must not commit them to much.

That I think is a fair summary of the arguments used by the Reform Party in Geneva and it is a powerful one especially in French circles, who are now looking more and more to Locarno and not to the League to protect them against the possibility of a German attack. M. Blum, of course, may alter all that.

Now for the Status Quo Party. They maintain in the first place that, until the Covenant has been faithfully tried out by those States which subscribe to it, it is impossible to say whether the fact that the League is not universal is a fatal defect or not. If the League takes strong action, then the non-members are almost bound to follow suit, and they instance in support of this the fact that America would have stood by the League in any action she took against Japan and was actually at one time in advance of the League in so far as the treatment of the Italian-Abyssinian dispute was concerned. Nations, like men,

respond readily enough to a strong lead in any matter where their interests are concerned. It is the League's business to convince them on every important occasion that their interests are concerned and then they will move.

It is absurd to contend that Article 16 is an inadequate weapon or that it cannot be applied without going to war. Even its present application, halting though it has been, has considerably hampered Italy, has reduced her trade to one quarter of what it was in March 1935, and would have brought her to her knees had the Governments of Britain and France proposed an oil embargo instead of the Hoare-Laval peace plan. It is quite true that sanctions work slowly, but properly applied they have the same effect as the mills of God. It does not matter that the Emperor has fled and that the undersized King of Italy has been proclaimed Emperor of an undersized Empire. He, or rather his keeper, will suffer the fate of Napoleon.

Thirdly, the Covenant and especially the regulations providing for financial assistance to a threatened State provide everything that is necessary to enable a small State to carry out her obligations under Article 16. The great powers have indeed only to behave in this respect much as England behaved at the beginning of the nineteenth century when it financed Austria and Prussia against France.

As to the contention that the League is based on a misconception of the world conscience, that, too, is absurd. You cannot lay down exact rules of conduct for States, and the Covenant contains the irreducible minimum of law, expressed in its simplest terms, without which chaos is inevitable. To tamper with it, especially because a comparatively strong State has momentarily been successful in an act of aggression against a very weak State, is to destroy the last vestiges of hope that the world will ever be made safe for democracy. Anything, even the disintegration of the League, is better than that.

Nor are the Status Quo Party without hope. They draw comfort from the history of the past sixteen years. The first two acts of aggression, the attack by Poland on Lithuania and the shelling of Corfu by Italy, resulted in much talk but no action on the part of the League. Indeed, the Corfu business was handed over for settlement to the Council of Ambassadors. Then came the Greco-Bulgarian dispute in which the League scored an immediate success because its members took a strong line from the start. The next serious problem was

Manchukuo. Here the League missed its opportunity but did at any rate send out a commission which established the facts and as the result of which the Assembly condemned Japan. Now comes the behaviour of Italy. The League has progressed. It has applied sanctions timorously and half-heartedly, it is true, but it has applied them. Italy in fact is the vile body for an experiment which has not yet been brought to an end. The machine is slowly working. Given time, given a little more patience, and the speed of its movement will increase. To remove a vital cog such as Article 16 would be fatal.

Here then, briefly set out, are the main arguments bandied about in Geneva for or against the reformation of the League. Little else is talked about. That is natural. But what has struck me more than anything else is the calmness displayed by League officials. I do not pretend to know what goes on inside their offices, but their demeanour to their friends outside them is admirable. They have known all along, ever since the Hoare-Laval proposals were made, that this would happen. But they are neither blind nor bitter. They are still content to wait upon events, to supply the facts as far as they can gather them and to carry on outwardly at any rate unmoved.

Now what of the immediate prospects ? It is exceedingly difficult to say. At present, sanctions are proving a double-edged weapon. Mussolini got himself into a terrible economic mess before the aggression on Abyssinia began. Now he is using sanctions to excuse the bitter suffering—and everyone I have met coming recently from Italy agrees that it is bitter—his own economic follies have inflicted. But of one thing Geneva feels fairly certain. He will not be able to raise a loan in London, not, that is, if the Foreign Investments Committee recently set up by the Chancellor behaves as it has led the world to expect it will behave. On the other hand there is no saying what may happen in America, though it is hoped that American financiers—God's " frozen " people, as I heard them called the other day—are still feeling that burning sensation in their finger-tips put there by more than one European country which now refuses to pay them a cent.

The great new factor in the situation is the advent to power in France of a Government of the Left. It is too soon to judge of its effect on the international position, but it is not too much to hope that Léon Blum may prove to be a second Blücher, in which case Mussolini will meet his Waterloo in a comparatively short time. For the reaction

of the French to the annexation of Abyssinia has been immediate. Mussolini has left nothing which could be used for bargaining purposes. He has presented them and the League with a *fait accompli*, and they are not grateful. "What" said a Frenchman to me a day or two ago, "do you think will be Mussolini's price for assistance against Germany?" "Tunis," I answered half as a joke. To my surprise he nodded gravely. "You may well be right," he said, "and the Quai d'Orsay are beginning to think so too. But what of you? How will you like a trained black army of half a million on the borders of the Sudan?" It was my turn to look grave, but I could not tell him what our Cabinet was thinking. I did not know. Who does? But, surely from an imperial point of view the risk is obvious? At any rate the Continent thinks it is, and not a few of the small States are jubilant. England is not popular abroad just now—perhaps because she has tried better than anyone else to apply the Covenant. But if she shows the slightest sign of adopting a defeatist attitude, then it is all over as far as the League is concerned.

"Can't you read, my man?"

"Kladderadatsch" Berlin

ENGLAND'S LESSON

by KARL SILEX (*Editor*)

From the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," Berlin

It is no business of ours to take the Negus to task for his behaviour. Praise is already being showered on him from the sanctionist camp for having saved further bloodshed by his "sensible" action. The sanctionists rejoice that their *protégé malgré lui* has given up the game as lost. That makes everything a lot simpler. Nobody can now maintain, they say, that black Abyssinia is an adult State, worthy of taking its place in the councils of the nations. Admittance of Abyssinia to the League of Nations, they say, was after all a mistake; Abyssinia is a state that must be educated. Meanwhile Mussolini has undertaken the task of education. Why complicate matters further? Indeed, the demand for the ending of sanctions can scarcely be passed over any longer, and those western politicians who have been particularly zealous advocates of sanctions will probably have received orders to "make the best of it."

Many and varied are the problems that now arise. Are France and England obliged to intern the Negus as a warmaker, or to support him as an ally? May the British Minister in Addis Ababa accept an invitation to tea from the Military Governor of the Occupying Power? Will Italy pay the arrears of Abyssinia's contribution to the League of Nations? We note how greedily the world seizes on all the many problems, which must now be solved, and which make forgetting easier. For there is a lot that must be forgotten, from the original huckstering, via intrigue to the final fiasco. In such case politicians are accustomed to take refuge in "realities."

Rome's jubilation is indescribable. Among the Italians were some doubters who regarded the Abyssinian campaign as a dangerous adventure and were impressed by the opposition of fifty nations. The more of such doubters there were, the greater must Mussolini's achievement be reckoned. *He* was strengthened by knowledge of things unknown to others. The agreement between him and Laval in January, 1935, could not, it is true, prevent France from joining in the verdict

against Italy. But it ensured France's opposition to the one effective sanction, and gave Mussolini the certainty that he need not reckon with the really serious eventuality—an armed conflict in which France would have been among his opponents.

Although a great deal is now being written in all countries about the failure of the collective system, there can be no true comparison made with other cases, unless this decisive factor in the present situation is taken into consideration.

The English wanted to make a test case of the efficacy of the collective system out of the whole affair. Today they would be happy if the word "test case" had never been mentioned. How could they think of this as a test case, when in reality very different things were being put to the test. In French eyes nothing was being tested but the question as to how well, in the face of the greatest difference of opinion, the former Allies would hold together against a strengthened Germany. A collective system as such has never been known to France—only one particular collective system directed against Germany. The premises upon which the English went did not, therefore, exist.

What are the French rejoicing at now?

That Marshal Badoglio was such a good soldier, that the English have made a bad speculation and now must admit the accomplished fact, that the Italians' greedy gaze has been averted from North Africa to East Africa; but most of all, of course, the French are rejoicing that Italy will once again become capable of action in Europe.

Is France's joy genuine? We do not believe so. French politicians have shuffled a lot of cards during the last three years. It must be admitted that they have known how to get more and more cards in their hands—more than they could hold. So they began to play out a card here and there, and found they held bad hands. The worst thing of all was that they lost the confidence of the English. Even in the Danube basin England started hastily instituting a policy of her own—*vide* Sir Austen Chamberlain's trip to Central Europe.

The results of the French elections will take England aback even more. Over there it seems they still believe that Germany was never in the old days in danger of communism. They do not like admitting what Germany has achieved in guarding the civilised world from communism. And so today they will want to deny the idea of a communistic France as "unthinkable." The victory of the com-

munists will not exactly help the reestablishment of shaken confidence between England and France.

Finally, as regards the Soviet Russian card, this may, in the hands not of the French but of the Bolsheviks, play a part that will threaten not Germany, but the whole Western world. We Germans have often enough been mocked for defending ourselves against an imaginary red danger. It is this danger which remains the real one, not the collapse of the League of Nations, and not the perhaps too loudly proclaimed humiliation of a World Empire.

If we do not err, England stands at an important point in her history. She has received a painful lesson, and will make great efforts to take it to heart. That often takes some time over there, but such lessons have often become the most valuable sources of strength. England will not do anyone—least of all those who laugh at her now—the favour of repeating the mistakes of the past. A new basis is to be established, and English foreign policy is on the eve of a period of activity which has as its first goal the reunion of all the countries of Europe this summer in the League. It will be, if at all, a new League, no longer that of Versailles, whose bonds have been burst by the natural development of the peoples.

Wanted in Europe

From "Le Temps," Paris

THE dream of an Italian Empire, as successor after fifteen centuries to the Roman Empire, is beginning to take shape, to become a reality. But there are other realities in the world to which Italian aspirations will be forced by circumstances to adapt themselves. It is unfortunate from this point of view that, strong in the victory of her soldiers, new Italy has not been more moderate in the way she has brought her African enterprise to an end, that she has not troubled to save the face of the League of Nations, to which she continues to belong, and whose moral authority it is her interest to uphold.

Satisfied in East Africa, having proved her military power, Italy now needs above all to re-establish her position on the Continent, where the danger is as grave for her as for other Powers. To leave the League would be an error which Signor Mussolini will avoid, to exclude him from that great international institution, following the

annexation of Ethiopia, would be a political mistake which the League, already weakened, will not commit.

Geneva will go through some painful hours; but if calm and a sense of realities are maintained, the damage may still be limited. Any fresh imprudence would have immediate and tragic repercussions in the Mediterranean and on the Continent. That is a danger which no government can lightly envisage, when it is in Central Europe, and on the Rhine, that the true danger is to be found at this very hour.

A New Caesar?

Pierre Bernus in the "Journal des Débats," Paris

A CERTAIN ambiguity is noticeable in Signor Mussolini's use of the word "Empire." Victor Emmanuel is to remain King of Italy; he is only, in addition, Emperor of Ethiopia. Signor Mussolini seems to have followed the example of Disraeli, who created the title of Empress of India for Queen Victoria. However, there is evidently something more to the idea, which he did not explain fully. In one passage he said that "Italy at last has her Empire," and not "an Empire"—which seems to indicate only a colonial Empire in the current sense. But, further on, he declared: "In this certainty (that the Italian people will defend against everyone the Empire created by their blood) raise, legionaries, your ensigns, your arms and your hearts, to salute, after fifteen centuries, the reappearance of the Empire on the sacred hills of Rome." Here he seems to be talking of something quite different, that is, the restoration of the Roman Empire.

The future will show whether this was mere oratory or whether his words correspond to an exact line of political thought. As the situation of the world does not in the least resemble that at the beginning of the Christian era, it is not, at first sight, probable that Signor Mussolini, who is a realist, is dreaming of a sort of Imperial restoration.

Italy's New Black Legions

From "La République," Paris

THE first essential characteristic of the Italian victory lies in the constitution of a strong black army. Experts will one day show the part played by the Askaris in the decisive battles and what place they

should take before or after aeroplanes and gas.

But let us examine the consequences of the creation of this new force. Until now, it has been France who had the monopoly of black troops. She has used them wisely; she has never made them play a big part except in defence of her own territory. Should she cede her monopoly to Italy, or share it with her?

There is talk of an army of 200,000 natives —ten times the number that are recruited in our black colonies—who are said already to have been collected in Ethiopia in order to be sent to Libya for military training. While treating these figures with reserve, it is evident that Rome is looking for soldiers in Africa, and that she will be happy to have a powerful instrument of war there—and that she will not shrink from placing black soldiers on guard on the Brenner.

The form of colonisation that is adopted will decide the nature of the native army. If Rome takes away the land of Ethiopia from the local peasantry in order to establish mass colonies of Europeans, the army recruited from a country which will thus have entirely changed its agrarian basis, will be an army of hundred per cent. mercenaries, indifferent to where they have to serve. Let this be a warning to those who persist in wanting to separate African from European questions, as though we were still in the nineteenth century.

Colonising Nearer Home

From "Vreme," Belgrade

COLONISATION of Albania by Italy on a large scale has begun. On the basis of the recently-signed Italo-Albanian treaty, Italy has completed her arrangements for settling 6,000 Italian families, about 30,000 persons, across the Adriatic.

The Albanian Government has agreed to this figure because of the financial advantages promised by Italy. A certain amount of capital is expected to come into Albania with the settlers who have the full moral, political and financial support of the Italian Government.

It is understood that Italy desired a compact settlement of Italian citizens as near as possible to the seashore, but this was declined by the Albanians who feared that such a settlement might one day form the basis of Italian political expansion.

After considerable discussion Italy yielded to the demand of

Albania not to settle Italian immigrants in a united colony. They will be distributed in all parts of the country. In return for this concession the Albanian Government agreed to receive 6,000 families instead of the 5,000 families approved in the first place.

Italy will endeavour to gain advantages by settling Italians in the most valuable parts of the country, that is, where minerals and oil are to be found. As Italian money is being used to develop these resources the Albanians could hardly decline this demand of the Duce.

So far 6,000 tons of Albanian oil have been exported to Italy. It is being transported through Valona to Bari and Venice. It is understood that the oil is of high quality and lends itself easily to refining. With the help of Italian capital and engineers this figure is expected to be doubled within six months.

Mussolini's Belgian Friends

From "L'Indépendance Belge," Brussels

Although Belgium officially adhered to the Sanctions policy against Italy, the following voices the opinion of a very large number of Belgians of the upper middle-class

Seven months ago, when the Italians began what—in order not to hurt the League of Nations principles—they termed "a colonial enterprise," very few people in Europe believed in such a prompt and complete victory as they have achieved. Military "experts" were informing their respective governments, with notorious incompetence, about the impossibility, for a modern army, of advancing along the arid regions of Ethiopia, a country without roads, where the heat is unbearable and the rain equally so. All these distinguished authorities added that lorries, tanks, heavy artillery and even aircraft would prove useless in Abyssinia. Guerilla warfare would render all regular operations impossible, and the Abyssinian climate would severely affect white troops. On the other hand, it was stated that the Negus had at his disposal several million warriors, of whom half a million at least were properly equipped. This figure, by the way, gradually decreased, and it cannot be doubted that for some months the League of Nations Council knew—or should have known—that the defeat of the Emperor was a certainty. If this knowledge was really hidden

from him, it would be a very serious matter. There may have been some doubt at the time of the Hoare-Laval proposals, but it is difficult to understand why subsequently the British Government did not draw the Negus's attention to the necessity, in his own interest, of saving appearances and beginning negotiations with Italy.

London must necessarily realise that it is scarcely possible to take up any further the defence of this man who did not act as chief in the Italo-Abyssinian war, who abandoned everything in the end, who now represents no one, and who, in fact, never really ruled over the Princes of Abyssinia who have gradually gone over to Italian authority. This latter fact has been one of the chief factors of the Italian victory. This is a case of a political victory, the entire importance of which will have to be fully borne in mind when the fate of the large Ethiopian territory is settled. The political victory, however, in no way lessens the importance of the military victory. Certain people mention this military achievement with hypocritical references to the violation of the Pact, to immorality, to inhumane methods, etc. It is indeed a great pity that we have not yet succeeded in "killing war," but it is obviously our own fault . . . The way in which negotiations with Germany are now carried on show very clearly that there is little progress in the League of Nations methods, and that the League will need serious reform.

In opposition to the failure of Geneva, one cannot help admiring Signor Mussolini and the manner in which he takes a decision, and subsequently proceeds to organisation. It would be unfair, useless, and dangerous to minimise the Italian victory. We say dangerous because the under-estimation of the power of a nation which has shown so much character, faith, courage, and discipline, might lead to grave consequences.

Some press organs say that all is not finished; that the battle between Italy and the League continues. Such an attitude appears to us illogical. The very word "sanctions" should be forgotten.

Where the Fault Lies

From the "Prager Presse," Prague

THE defeat of the League must be entirely charged to the Big Powers, that is, to England and France, in equal measure. Their unity, on which the peaceful development of post-war Europe has always hung,

and still hangs today, would have stopped the war if the principles of the League had been energetically applied. Instead, we saw half-measures and hesitancy. In this France took the English attitude to the League in former years as her model, and England answered by haggling over the conditions of combined action after Germany's breach of Locarno.

The situation now created is, therefore, not due to any failure of the League as such, but of Anglo-French unity—and also, in particular, failure on the part of England. Its roots are to be found in the policy associated with the name of Ramsay MacDonald, a policy characterised by truckling and even friendly gestures to governments which had shown their dislike of League methods and preference for power politics. This English policy exaggerated the disarmament efforts, and led to neglect of England's arms on land and sea. It coquetted with revisionism and was regarded as defeatist. Fortunately it is evident that the situation has its positive as well as negative effects. Above all, it seems hardly in doubt that England is realising her mistakes. It is sufficient to read the last declarations of Hoare, Churchill and Chamberlain to see that there is a lively tendency working towards proper realisation of the disruptive forces in European politics, towards making Britain a bulwark against these forces, and towards new bases for complete cooperation with France.

Now the Big Powers will be able to concentrate on the main—European—problems, particularly on Germany's relationship to Europe. They will be able to place the organisation of law, understanding and cooperation in opposition to the method of the *fait accompli* by which Germany has in the last few years caused such unrest. In this Italy will play a larger and useful role.

The situation would also show results on the positive side if the cry for reform of the League were to bring greater efficacy and activity into that body. This would of course not be achieved if Article 16 (sanctions article) were weakened in any way, or if any doubtful experiments were made with Article 19.

Sweden Mourns the League

Svenska Dagbladet, Stockholm (*Conservative*)

As long as the League lacks real power, and attempts to deal with aggressors only by peaceful methods, refusing to meet them with their own weapons, no trust can be placed in "collective security."

Handels- och Sjöfartstidningen, Gothenburg (Liberal)

Now that the invalidity of the vaunted "collective security" has been demonstrated, it remains for each state individually to do its utmost to protect itself in these days of highway robbery.

There is no longer a leading power in Europe. Great Britain seemed willing to play this part, but it has failed miserably, and is still fumbling with Hitler's so-called peace proposals.

Whether we may expect a reduction in the tension will depend entirely on developments within the dictatorships. If the peoples succeed in shaking off their oppressors before war actually breaks out, there is a hope of peace. But no one can foretell what will rise out of the chaos that is inevitable when fascism, nazism and bolshevism collapse. Only this can we say with assurance: that Western civilisation will not be spared these ordeals.

THE LIMITS OF DICTATORSHIP

An attempt to apply the totalitarian principle and thereby further national unity in a new field, the German sausage trade, is reported to have failed owing to the opposition of the butchers.

The Grand Advisory Council of the Reich Guilds Association of Butchers has just held a meeting at Cologne to discuss the problem of giving the many German meat and sausage products uniform names throughout the Reich . . .

The butchers' representatives were opposed to the new plan and declared that the desired uniformity could never be achieved. Numerous cases are said to have been cited by the butchers as proof that the names of their sausages had a long tradition and even historical importance. Descriptions that for ages had been customary in Silesia, Schleswig-Holstein, or Saxony in their opinion could never be introduced by compulsion in Württemberg, Bavaria, or the Rhineland and *vice versa*. The Frankfurt district, for instance, is particularly proud of its well-known "Frankfurters" and its "yellow sausage," and nothing could compel the population to give up these descriptions in favour of new uniform Reich names.—*The Times, London.*

COLONY FOR ANTI-SOCIAL FAMILIES

Bremen has taken an important decision for the solution of the problem of anti-social cases. Senator Haltermann has declared that an institution is to be established in which patients will be housed in rows of single family houses. After all information has been carefully sifted and their domestic condition investigated, families found to be "anti-social" will have to enter this institution. If the conduct of the family is satisfactory in the first half-yearly grade, it is promoted to the second grade and a house with a small garden. If the improvement in the colony shows that the family has been weaned from its former attitude by the educational methods applied, the family may return into the community, though constant care and supervision will continue.—*Berliner Tageblatt.*

A BLACK MAN SPEAKS

The Fraud of White Civilisation

From "Voruit," The Hague

This article was written by W. F. Sparendam, a negro from Dutch Guiana. The fact that the war is over in Ethiopia in no way lessens the force of his accusation.

I MUST reply to Mr. Bernard Shaw's statement, in which he alleges that Italy has been a civilised country from the earliest times. For even after countless men, women and children have been killed on Mussolini's orders in East Africa, Shaw is still so impressed by this Roman civilisation that he wishes for the triumph of the Italians.

Most certainly, Mr. Shaw, nothing but a miracle would enable Abyssinia to win the war, for the leading role in the League of Nations is played by Great Britain and France, both for centuries the over-lords of the coloured races of the entire world. And is not the prestige of these white over-lords in the face of the coloured races what matters most ?

What I cannot understand is why some time ago on his return from South Africa, Mr. Bernard Shaw gave much publicity to a statement—which caused a sensation not only in England but throughout the world—that his experience of racial problems led him to recommend intermarriage between white women and the males of aboriginal races like the Zulus. Mr. Shaw, by his statement, wished to make known that the black race is physically superior to males of the white race, which is in a process of degeneration. How can he now declare that Roman culture must dominate the coloured peoples ?

In the same way the great European civilisation of the Führer, of the Duce, of many other great ones, is agreed that the white race has been called to rule over the coloured peoples. More than a thousand years ago, however, Germany and France butchered one another on the battlefields of Europe. The lives and the possessions of millions were lost in the process. So much blood flowed, so much country was laid waste, that one might well call the valley of the Rhine a valley of human sacrifice and blood. This devastation started as

early as Charlemagne. Names like those of Richelieu, Frederick the Great, Napoleon, Blücher, Bismarck and Napoleon the Third, speak volumes for this European mission of civilisation.

Civilised white nations have measured their strength on the battlefield not less than ten or twelve times in the course of history, until, after these thousand years of intermittent war, coloured people had to come and join in the fray, in the last, the Great War. Has not every educated coloured man the right, nay, is it not his duty to protest? It is their own business if Germans and Frenchmen wish to shoot one another down, but a halt must be called when they force brown soldiers to help one so-called civilised country to destroy the other.

In the World War France called to her aid her troops from Senegal, from Morocco, from Martinique and the West Indies; England her famous British Indian Gurkhas, her Bengal Lancers her Sikhs, West Indian negroes, African Kaffirs—all savage coloured races.

On the other hand the Germans mobilised the negroes of German East Africa, the Cameroons and Togo to help in their colonial wars. Uncle Sam, in whose country the racial problem has always been an eternally insoluble puzzle, brought into the war 200,000 negroes, gathered from various States, from labourers in the cotton plantations of the South, as well as from the tap-dancers of Harlem, and brought them to Europe. In those days no one spoke of "savage negroes." My brave black brothers were used as storm troops on the Western Front in Gallipoli, and Mesopotamia, and innocent millions of them were butchered like beasts. In almost every modern war, Europeans have used negroes in the front line, often with the humourous observation that "natives are not concerned with their earthly existence, they gladly die."

How then, can Mr. Shaw, or Mr. Hitler, or Mr. Mussolini, only twenty-one years after such an inhuman butchery, declare that the white Roman and German civilisations are the only true ones?

Civilisation is the culture of the coloured people, given by God to Jews and Egyptians—the latter being a mixture of Jews, Egyptians and other heathens.

Half-Breeds

A civilised European called upon by Hitler to rule over the coloured races should set an example, and have no need to persecute Jews and

other non-Aryans. For what right has mortal man to dispose over the lot of his fellowmen, be they Aryan or otherwise, or to concern himself with their spiritual lives, and their loves?

How many negresses have been dishonoured by civilised whites? Thousands of Germanic half-breeds can be found, for instance, in German East Africa, millions are scattered over the whole earth. Of the twelve million American negroes more than half are half-breeds. Wherever so-called Western civilisation came in contact with the native races, white men never hesitated to seize the women of the country. And it is only now that the German dictatorship has had the bright idea of distinguishing between Aryans and non-Aryans—something after all which is quite impossible, for no dictator can subjugate human nature.

In the Great War the negroes participated in white civilisation to such an extent that they lost any respect for it. Everywhere they seek to throw off the yoke; after the War negro riots took place in Cardiff and Liverpool, as well as in New York and Chicago. They would no longer submit to oppression.

Now poor Abyssinia, the last negro Empire which has known how to protect itself from white domination, is being attacked by a dictator, a successor of Caesar and Nero. But there are no millions of white troops to succour Abyssinia. The Abyssinians are left to their fate. The civilised world looks on. True, it is said that sympathies are on the side of the Abyssinians but what use are sympathies and sweet phrases? While I write poor negroes are being butchered by the thousand, poor negresses and little children are being murdered in cold blood. Though they are not "civilised" as the white world would have it, they are human after all. Millions of negroes and coloured people twenty-one years ago gave their blood for civilised whites. Is it not time, you civilised white peoples, that a stop should be put to the destructive work of Italy?

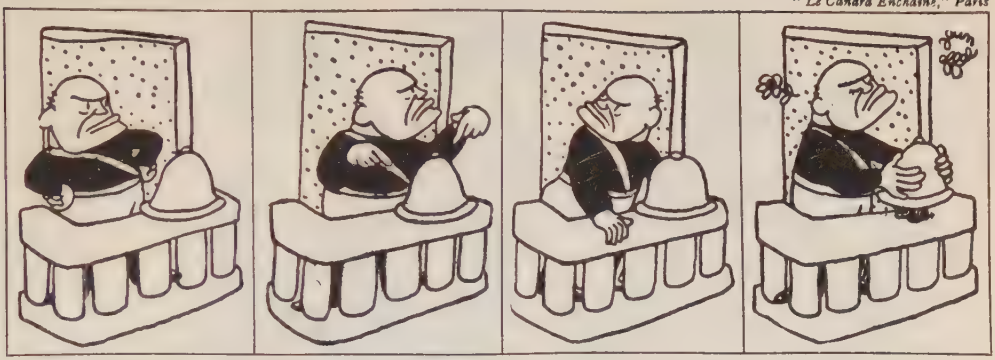
RIEN COMPRENDRE, C'EST TOUT PARDONNER

Miss Etta Donner of the Vienna Africanistic Institute has returned from studying the social position of women in Africa's tropic woods.

Young Miss Donner travelled alone and was not afraid. White people are much respected where they are not yet well known, she has found.—*The Science News Letter, U.S.A.*

THE CORONATION

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris



"People of Italy! Listen to my jewelled words and look! I present you today with the trophy of trophies—

—the helmet authenticissimo of the Negus. But that is not all! I announce to you that our king,—

—Victor of Victors, Emmanuel of Emmanuels, King of the Kings of Kings, and new Emperor of Abyssinia—

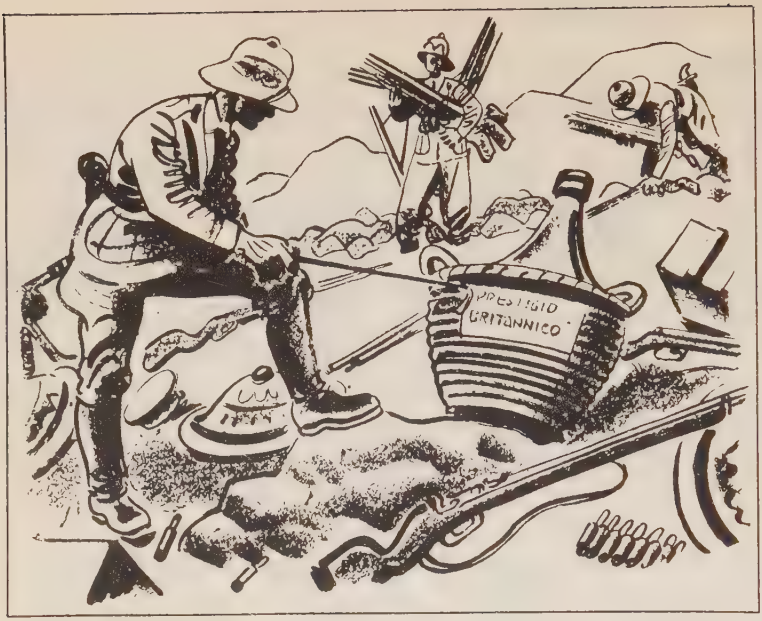
—has already been placed, by my care, under his new crown."

ABYSSINIA IS ITALIAN—

—And the development of the country is being taken in hand

P. Vanderhem, "Haagsche Courant," The Hague

FOUND ON TH
BATTLEFIELD



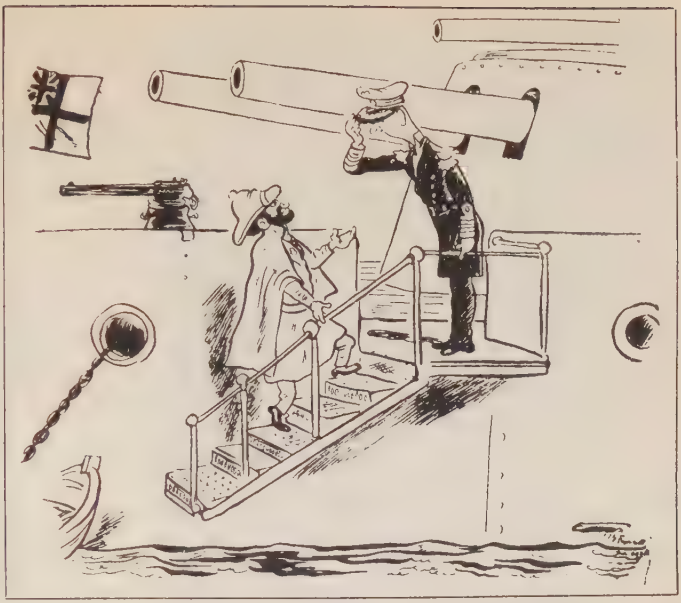
The Ashes of Britis
Prestige

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome

Low, "Evening Standard," Lon

WORTHY DESCENDANT OF THE BORGIAS

HE UNKINDEST
UT

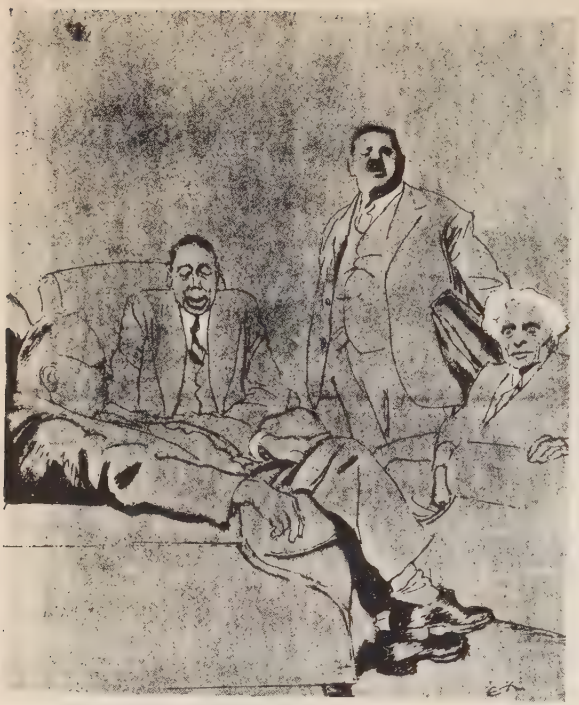


HE NEGUS:
This is the first good turn
ne famous British Fleet
as done me."

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome

Vyndham Robinson, "Morning Post," London

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN



WORLD BOLSHEVISM, LTD.
SPANISH BRANCH

"Of course, Mr. Litvinov, we like and respect the Soviets—but only when Germany lies between us and them"

"Simplicissimus," Munich

THE EARTH'S DECLINE

"Look! What a beautiful, blood-red earth-set!"

"Le Rire," Paris

"What are you doing, Henry?"
"I am studying the foundations of world politics"

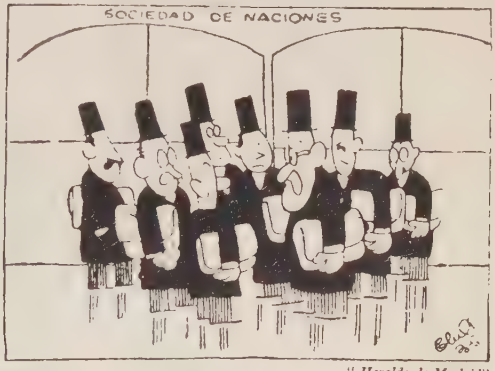
"Nebelspalter," Switzerland

ROMULUS, REMUS AND RENEGUS

"Yes, but—we must teach the little fellow what's what."

"Le Canard Enchaine, Paris"

MUSSOLINI ADAMANT



"I hear that Mussolini is going to apply sanctions against the League."

"Heraldo de Madrid"

"La République," Paris

FRANCE'S COL. BLIMP ON THE LEAGUE'S NEW QUARTERS

"Scrognieugnieu! Grand barracks going begging!"

GOERING—
FINANCIAL DICTATOR

"*Haagsche Post*," *The Hague*

The New Guardian of the Rhinegold

THE END OF SOVIET-GERMAN RIVALRY

Thus—

"*Komar*," *Lwow*

Or Thus!

THE DISMAL DANUBE ~

ITALY SUPREME IN AUSTRIA

From the " Neue Zürcher Zeitung," Zürich

The month of May in Austria saw the dismissal of the Fascist Heimwehr Chief, Prince Starhemberg, by the Chancellor. Externally, the effect of his dismissal remains unpredictable.

AUSTRIA'S external situation has proved to be surprisingly firm. The sending of a great part of the Italian army to East Africa and the re-militarisation of the Rhineland by Germany caused some uneasiness, but that was merely a passing phenomenon and the success of Italy's campaign has enabled Rome to re-establish its former position. Today, the Vienna Government is of the opinion that the protection promised to an independent Austria against aggressors is as efficient a substitute for the Stresa Front as could be hoped for. The collapse of the League's sanction policy and its complete failure to stop the march of German troops into the Rhineland have in any case killed all illusions about the value of collective measures. With the sinking of League prestige the importance of Austria's southern ally has come in to the foreground.

Under these circumstances Austro-German relations are mainly determined by the wishes of Italy. Mussolini has been sufficiently outspoken as regards German designs on Austria. Hitler knows now that Vienna's independence cannot be the subject of any bargaining. On the other hand Mussolini has very strongly impressed upon Schuschnigg the necessity of maintaining more cordial relations with the Third Reich. Mussolini's intimation has not remained without effect. Relations with Germany have not much improved, but on the other hand they have not got worse in spite of many critical moments. The gradual emergence of the Reichswehr in Germany and the Federal Army in Austria as the paramount factors in internal and external politics has definitely cleared the atmosphere for a coming rapprochement between the two sister-states. The increasing influence of the Reichswehr generals is the best guarantee that Nazi inclinations for external adventures will be checked in good time.

During the last two years the strength of the Austrian Executive

has enormously increased, and today they could cope with any emergency incomparably more easily than before. This is well known to the Nazis and, therefore, the warnings of the Reichswehr will hardly be disregarded. The Prince Eugene commemorative festivals, which caused a certain amount of tension in Franco-German relations, has, in spite of numerous oratorical *faux-pas*, improved relations between Berlin and Vienna. The Great Military Spring Parade which was watched by large delegations of the Italian, Hungarian and German armies was reminiscent of the merry old days of the Triple Entente.

It is not surprising that in the present unsettled circumstances Europe is following with special nervousness any change in the political constellation of the Austrians. Since the Locarno crisis, Vienna has become more of a danger-spot than ever before. Spring manoeuvres of the Austrian Army in Tyrol have thus created more excitement in Paris and in London, than they really deserved. The Federal Army, the symbol of Austria's fully restored sovereignty, is at present only a very weakly equipped force in the middle of a painful process of reorganisation. On account of financial obstacles, it will take a long time before the process is completed. In the meantime the Government is trying to acquaint the provinces with the army and the army with the regions they may be called upon to defend. Frequent movements of regiments from one frontier to the other are mainly motivated by the desire of the High Command to accustom Alpine soldiers with conditions in the lowlands and vice-versa. The Tyrol manoeuvres were only the first move ; others will soon follow and foreign chancelleries will no doubt get used to them.

ENGLAND'S RESPONSIBILITY

by H. MATAJA, EX-FOREIGN MINISTER OF AUSTRIA

From the " Wiener Wirtschaftswoche," Vienna

CENTRAL EUROPE is protected against Germany by far-reaching military alliances. The kernel of these alliances is the Franco-Russian entente. This entente would in case of need be backed by many, variously distributed divisions and would without doubt, with regard to Austria, be backed by the large and well-equipped Italian army. Italy, indeed, would play the main role in defending Austria from the Third Reich.

There can be no doubt that these united forces would stay the German tide. But their superiority is not so overwhelming as to restrain Germany from going to war. In her desperate economic and financial position Germany would take the risk. The Germans are gamblers, and dilettantes as well.

In one situation only would Germany not dare to fight, that is, if England were openly to join the Society for the Protection of Central Europe. The world war would not have broken out in 1914 if England had declared her position in time. Had the Kaiser known that England would march, he would never have drawn the sword.

The present position is very similar. France will not leave Central Europe in the lurch, nor England France. But illusions reign in Berlin, where nobody has the moral strength to admit the real position. One phrase succeeds another, propaganda fires feeling, feeling fires propaganda. In decisive moments, something must be risked, and Berlin acts as if there were still doubts as to the position. The Austrian Nazis, whose vision is a degree more blurred than that of the Germans, imagine a neutral England. Berlin is at least disappointed, sometimes it even gives way to God-strafe-England-feeling. But of course our omniscient Nazis in Vienna think they realise much better what Baldwin and Eden are really thinking! And this atmosphere infects Berlin, or at least Munich.

All countries that have been chosen by the Third Reich as battlefields have the pleasant prospect of a double gassing, first, when the German troops break in, second, when they are thrown out again. The decision lies in England's hands. If England unequivocally declares her position, there will be no war. Then the superiority of the coalition will become so obvious that the most reckless will not dare to challenge it.

HABSBURGS MUST COME BACK

by FRANCOIS DAUTURE

From "Je Suis Partout," Paris

WHAT external support can the Austrian Government count on in defending the country against Germany? Italian friendship proved to be the only active force in 1934. When Italian help threatened to

become less effective as a result of the absurd policy of sanctions, the indispensable guarantees had to be sought elsewhere. Once more, the successors of Dollfuss took the road to London and Paris. Forgetting the ignominious reception of Chancellor Schuschnigg last year, Vice-Chancellor Starhemberg came to explain the tragic situation of his country. "Make it up with the Little Entente," was the only advice and encouragement offered him.

Chancellor Schuschnigg accordingly went to Prague at the beginning of the year. There was no appreciable result. It was suggested that he should adopt the plan of M. Hodza, Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, who hoped thereby to solve the Danube problem. An examination of the plan revealed only arrangements of an economic order. But, in spite of the distress and the psychological and moral

THE PRINCE'S PURSE-STRINGS

PRINCE STARHEMBERG:

"Only over my dead body will the Heimwehr be dissolved . . . there it lies already."

"Brennessel," Munich

misery of the Austrian people, it is no paradox to say that it is not bread that it needs to regain courage and strength. What it above all lacks is a tradition incarnated by the Habsburgs and which can be incarnated by no one else. Some weeks ago, Prince Starhemberg said that "Austria and the Habsburgs are two inseparable ideas." Whether one likes it or not, that is the truth, the whole truth.

Neither the counsels of London, Paris or Prague, nor the theatricalities of M. Titulescu, who threatened war to prevent the return of the Habsburgs, can change the profound conviction of Austria's rulers. No doubt, one can compel them to admit that the Habsburg question is not a question of the immediate future. But events will prove the unreality of these forced pronouncements.

In reality, the policy of submission to the Soviets pursued by Prague and Paris disconcerts Austrian opinion. Austria has seen the Marxists at work and knows who has to foot the bill. She has to defend herself against the Austrian Marxists who find in neighbouring Czechoslovakia such ample facilities for their propaganda, the more so since they find such rich and powerful allies in the numerous Jewish elements in Vienna. Having supported the Austrian Government through hate of Hitler, these Jews have proved to be such compromising and greedy allies that they have had to be taught that Austrians have also a word to say in the management of their own affairs.

The only hope in such a dangerous situation still lies in Rome. Italy took the initiative in bringing the heads of the Austrian and Hungarian Governments together. Mussolini, in response to the vain attempts of past weeks, has declared that the Danubian question cannot be solved without Italy, that is, against Italy.

If this last effort fails, we must resign ourselves to the inevitable, to the *Anschluss*. The Little Entente will have accelerated its conclusion. It will soon regret it.

ACQUIRING FLUENCY

Jones: How is your son getting on at college?

Smith: He must be doing pretty well in languages. I just paid for three courses—$10 for Latin, $10 for Greek, and $100 for Scotch.—*Wall Street Journal, New York.*

THE ELEVENTH COMMANDMENT

We must become faithful to our Fuehrer and self-sufficient with regard to oil and rubber.—*Professor Wilhelm Boerir, Cologne University.*

The Treaty of Lausanne, which settled the post-war international status of Turkey, was accompanied by a convention relating to the Straits. Turkey agreed to demilitarise both coasts in return for a guarantee from England, France, Italy and Japan. After an abortive attempt to raise the question in 1933, *the Turkish Government sent a note to the four guarantor powers last April, demanding a revision of the convention. The importance of the problem lies in its intimate connection with the question of what Signor Mussolini will want next.*

THE DARDANELLES AGAIN

From "Zeitschrift für Politik," Berlin

WITH the growing importance of the Mediterranean in European policy, the question of the Straits has come to the forefront . . .

Since the settlement of 1923 Turkey has lost no opportunity of pushing her revisionist aims. She recognises the principle of free passage through the Straits but has, from the very first, attacked the demilitarisation clauses included in the Treaty by the Powers as a guarantee of that free passage. Not without reason, Turkey sees in the articles which forbid her to erect permanent fortifications on the shores of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus and on the European coast of the Sea of Marmara a discriminatory interference in her sovereign rights, and a threat against her security . . .

The world war proved clearly that Turkey can only protect her territories effectively by means of permanent fortifications. On signing the Treaty of Lausanne, the leader of the Turkish delegation expressed his government's protest in the following words: "With the demilitarisation of the Straits, we can no longer defend the Turkish capital, Constantinople, the Sea of Marmara, or Eastern Thrace. In time of war, each of the belligerents will at once try to seize possession of the Straits" . . .

The urgency of these questions is increased by Turkey's participation in sanctions against Italy. To a certain extent, Italy threatens Turkey, though the threat has not yet been put into words. The Powers have taken no steps to reassure Ankara. The Italian Dodeca-

nese Islands lie in disturbing proximity to the Narrows, and could, in case of need, become a base of operations against them. When England inquired of the Mediterranean States what their attitude would be in the event of a sanctionist war against Italy, Turkey's answer was favourable to the League. But she had it in mind to make practical cooperation dependent on the restoration of full Turkish sovereignty over the Straits.

It seems that England no longer intends to oppose these Turkish aims in all their aspects, since Italy's hostility has made her largely dependent on Turkish friendship in the Mediterranean. In addition, England hopes that the fortification of the Straits might stop the intervention of a Red Fleet in the Mediterranean at a critical moment, though at the moment this hope seems a rash one in view of Russo-Turkish friendship. Finally, London is aware of plans for the inclusion of all the Black Sea States in a " Black Sea Pact." It is no secret that the realisation of these plans, most enthusiastically backed by Russia and Turkey, would give Bolshevism another strategic advantage over England. It seems possible that English policy will concede to Turkey today a right that Turkey might take tomorrow without England's consent.

This attitude on the part of England shows that the Straits question is still today what it was in the nineteenth century, a true reflection of Anglo-Russian naval relations. Already in 1809, England had obtained from Turkey the closing of the Straits, whereby the Russian fleet became the " prisoner of the Black Sea." Throughout the nineteenth century, England took pains to guard the flank of her route to India. In 1864 she induced Turkey to modernise the fortifications of the Dardanelles. Only the world war showed the English that the legal position no longer suited their interests. Having vainly tried to force the Straits during the war, the opportunity was found to proclaim the freedom of passage at Sèvres in 1920, and at Lausanne in 1923. England was all the more ready for the opening of the Narrows since the collapse of Russia had destroyed her Black Sea Fleet. The flank of England's position in the Mediterranean was secured. It was thought that Soviet efforts to build up a new fleet could better be watched by securing in advance the hegemony of the Black Sea . . .

The military obligations imposed on Turkey were conceived to prevent her from developing a Straits policy that served the interests

of the Soviet Union. Since then, the political situation has undergone a fundamental change. First, the Soviet Union has once more become a sea power. England may not fear it, but she must take it into consideration. Secondly, and far more important, Italy, one of the powers in the anti-Soviet front that signed the Straits Statute, has fallen out with her allies. Since Japan, another of the signatory powers, is hardly likely to send her fleet to the Mediterranean, there remain only France and England as guarantors of the *status quo*. It is clear that these two powers would have difficulty in repelling a Soviet naval incursion, if a hostile Italian fleet lay in their rear.

Here is the core of the Narrows problem. Refortification would only suit British interests if it were directed against the U.S.S.R. But in addition there would also have to be a limitation of the right of free

ALI BABA IN THE STRAITS

"Close, Sesame!"

"Brennessel," Munich

passage for warships in time of war, a limitation from which only the Red fleet would suffer. But Turkey wishes to maintain the right of free passage as laid down in Lausanne and to abolish only the demilitarisation clauses. It may be safely assumed that England will only agree to Turkish wishes if Turkey pays the price demanded by London. This would take the form of a firm Anglo-Turkish alliance with certain guarantees as to British interests in the Straits. Here also, then, in the Narrows, there is a front where Europe stands in bitter, voiceless struggle with the Soviet Union. But England, as protagonist of the west, will see that the Turkish crescent flies over the forts of Sedd el Bahr, Kale Sultanije and the rest, not in the shadow of the Red Flag and the Soviet Star, but in that of the Union Jack.

Turkey's Standpoint

by N. A. KÜÇÜKA

From "Ankara," Turkey

TURKEY does not repudiate the freely signed Statute of the Dardanelles. The history of the young Republic does not record a single breach of international conventions. It was, therefore, in perfect sincerity that the Republic of Turkey informed the different States interested in the Statute of the Dardanelles that it is no longer possible, for juridical, political, and military reasons, to continue the application of the convention governing the administration of the Narrows. Our great leader, Atatürk, has declared on several occasions that Turkey's sole aim is her own internal development, her supreme goal being to raise Turkish culture to the highest level attainable.

We want to ensure the security of our country within the framework of collective security. Nobody is in a position to give us an assurance that the present Straits Statute can guarantee us the security we require. The political and military situation has completely changed since 1923. Then, a very strong current existed all over Europe towards disarmament, whereas today all nations are rearming. One of the States that guaranteed the Narrows in the name of the League of Nations, Japan, has already left the League. The attitude of Italy, another of the guarantor States, is well-known. The collective promise given us by England, France, Italy and Japan must be considered as juridically annulled.

Stalin Backs Atatürk

From "Izvestia," Moscow

THE action of the Turkish Government in the matter of the Straits is of great political importance. The Turkish Government has produced a row of serious arguments. The most convincing is the reference to the extraordinarily grave danger of war, in face of which the guarantee of the four Powers no longer offers sufficient security for the Straits. It is a fact that the danger of war is greater than ever before. Danger-spots are apparent in several parts of the world, where feverish preparation for aggression is taking place, accompanied by open resistance to the cause of collective security and by unilateral breaches of international obligations.

The Turkish Republic, which pursues a policy of peace, has not gone the way of Germany and Austria. It has not used the method of unilateral denunciation of treaties. Thus Turkey shows the world an example of international loyalty, of respect for existing treaties, and of genuine anxiety for peace.

Long before the Treaty of Lausanne, the Soviet Government clearly defined its attitude towards the problem of the Straits. The first Treaty of Friendship between Turkey and Soviet Russia made over the working out of a Straits Statute to "a special conference of delegates from the States of the littoral, provided that the resolutions adopted by it refrained from prejudicing the full sovereignty of Turkey as well as the security of Turkey and her capital, Constantinople." At the Lausanne Conference the Soviet delegation proposed to Turkey a guarantee of full sovereignty over the Straits, and it further signed an agreement to this effect, which has, however, not yet been ratified by the Soviet Government.

The attitude of the Soviet Government has not changed. When the Turkish Foreign Minister, in 1933, announced to the League Council for the first time that he might some time bring up the question of the Straits, M. Litvinov openly promised him his support. The fortification of the Straits, which is of a purely defensive character, is in no way an act of aggression, and can imply no threat against other countries. That is the difference between the action of Turkey and that of Hitler. The Turkish Government has throughout its

existence given many proofs of its love of peace. Surely Turkey is the best possible guarantor of the security of the Straits.

Soviet-Turkish Friendship

From "Moscow News"

THE "Treaty of Friendship and Brotherhood between the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic and Turkey" was signed in days of grave trials for the Soviet Republics and for Turkey, when the peoples of both countries were forced to fight with arms in their hands to assert their right to an independent existence. The Moscow treaty, which laid the foundation of Soviet-Turkish friendship, acted as a powerful factor in support of the Turkish emancipation movement from the first worker-peasant republic in the world.

In the preamble to the treaty, the Soviet Government and the government of the Turkish Grand National Assembly declared that they shared the "principles of brotherhood of the nations and the right of the peoples to self-determination," and noted the "solidarity existing between them in the struggle against imperialism as well as the fact that every difficulty created for one of the two peoples worsens the situation of the other."

On this principle the Soviet and the Turkish governments agreed not to recognise any "peace" treaties wrested from them by force. It was agreed in particular that the Soviet Government would not recognise any international acts affecting Turkey unless they were approved by the Grand National Assembly. In other words the Soviet Government, recognising the Grand National Assembly as the only lawful authority in Turkey, refused to recognise the validity of the actions of the Sultan's government, including the so-called Sèvres treaty, which aimed to keep Turkey dependent on the imperialist powers.

The Soviet Government at the same time fully relinquished all rights arising out of the regime of "capitulations" which formerly existed in Turkey, a regime under which foreigners residing in Turkey were not subject to the Turkish laws, and enjoyed exclusive privileges in the matter of taxes, imports, and so on. The Soviet Government declared in the treaty that the regime of "capitulations" is incompatible with "the free national development of any country as well as with the full enjoyment of its sovereign rights."

Of exceptional importance also was the clause which noted " the contact between the national-emancipation movement of the peoples of the east and the struggle of the toilers of Russia for a new social system." With a view to this provision of the treaty the Soviet and Turkish governments declared that they " solemnly recognise the right of these peoples to liberty and independence as well as their right to choose a form of government in accordance with their desire."

The establishment of close, friendly relations between the Soviet republics and Turkey was of great importance in strengthening the Turkish national emancipation movement. In the autumn of 1921 the Turkish national army led by the present president of the Turkish republic, Kamal Atatürk, repulsed the attack of the interventionists who had advanced close to Ankara itself. A year later the Turkish forces took the offensive and routed the interventionists and in September 1922 Kamal Atatürk entered liberated Smyrna. The imperialist powers were forced to withdraw their troops from Istanbul and to recognise the independence of the new Turkish State.

The victory in the war of liberation marked at the same time a victory over the old Turkish regime. The Grand National Assembly in November 1922 abolished the Sultanate and in October 1923 proclaimed Turkey a republic ; in March 1924 it put an end to the last survivals of the old Turkey by abolishing the caliphate, the supreme authority of the Turkish sultan over all Mohammedans.

In recent years there have been numerous meetings between statesmen of the two countries to exchange views on the most important problems of international policy and Soviet-Turkish relations. Soviet-Turkish cultural relations are also developing. Turkish students, textile workers, glider pilots, agronomists and others are studying in Soviet schools. Sportsmen, scientists and artists exchange visits.

At the same time, Soviet-Turkish economic cooperation is steadily growing stronger. With the aid of the twenty-year non-interest bearing credit advanced by the Soviet Government a large cotton textile factory has been built and put into operation in Kaisariyeh. Another textile mill, to be equipped with Soviet machinery, is being built at Nazilli. Turkey is also buying Soviet buses, motor trucks and other machines on account of the credit advanced to her.

The basic object of Soviet-Turkish friendship is the maintenance of universal peace and a struggle against the danger of war. The

relations between the Soviet Union and the Turkish Republic have developed into a model of peaceful cooperation.

That is why the Soviet-Turkish friendship founded on the Moscow Treaty of March 16, 1921, occupies such a prominent place in the foreign policies of the two countries. That is why the Soviet Government, while fighting for the preservation of peace throughout the world, is seeking to further and develop the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the Turkish Republic.

Ukraine Wants an "Open Door"

From "Dilo," Lwow, Polish Ukraine

THERE is hardly an important question in diplomatic history which would have more weight for the Ukrainians than the question of the Straits—the question of our sole exit to the world and the safety of our main natural border.

Immediately the Ukrainian people revolt against the Russian occupation there will arise the necessity of communication with the outer world and the need of supplying the army with necessities, trade, etc. We will not be satisfied with overland communication which would be dependent on the goodwill of our neighbours. If we are expecting a war of liberation and not a war of intervention it is imperative for us to have free access to the open sea, and therefore it is extremely important for us that in the future and maybe not far distant struggle for independence steamers of foreign countries could freely enter our ports; and that the Turkish government should not be allowed, under Soviet pressure, to close the Straits by batteries and fortifications, and deprive our nation of communication with the outer world and leave us alone with our enemy.

Bulgaria Sees Her Chance

From "Slovo," Sofia

THE Turkish move towards suppressing the clauses of the Lausanne Treaty which affect the demilitarisation of the Narrows has been favourably received in London. This means that Turkey is about to overcome the most important obstacle that her past efforts have encountered. At first sight, this approval is strange. The Straits

Convention, which assured all ships in time of war as well as in time of peace free passage through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, was imposed on Turkey at the dictation of Great Britain.

It is beyond the power of Bulgaria to act either one way or the other in a European question of such importance. However, the manner in which the question has been raised touches several of our vital interests in such a way that the Bulgarian Government cannot content itself with the role of an observer. Let us hope that the question will be examined by the chancelleries in the light of new conditions. One of these conditions is our security, unless the military restrictions of the Treaty of Neuilly are suppressed side by side with the modification of the Straits administration.

From "Mir," Sofia

THE question of the Straits is not definitely cleared up, but, judging by the views expressed in the various countries concerned, opinion is unmistakably in favour of Turkey. For Bulgaria the question is not only interesting but instructive. We have two ports, Varna and Burgas. Both lie on the Black Sea and both are largely dependent on the administration of the Dardanelles. If, under certain circumstances, we are deprived of free passage through the Narrows, we are deprived of a natural and vital right. The Soviet Union and Rumania are in the same position. But these two countries are bound to Turkey by pacts, and all three are able to make mutual concessions to one another according to their obligations. In view of this, the Bulgarian Government must already be considering the question and will no doubt call attention to the minimum guarantee for the freedom of our trade. In normal circumstances, the need for friends and assistance is not strongly felt. But, in international as in private affairs, there come moments when the strongest are unable to dispense with the moral support and aid of others.

Turkey's Move Means "Revision"

From "Dnes," Sofia

WHILE Germany and Austria have denounced the peace treaties unilaterally, Turkey has chosen a more correct approach, *i.e.*, she demands the assent of the powers that signed the Straits Convention and seeks the cooperation of the League of Nations. But in this case

it is the principle and not the form that matters. Turkey demands the revision of certain treaties. Thereby, although she is a member of the Balkan Entente, she is already in evident disagreement with the spirit and meaning of the Balkan Pact.

It is clear that Turkey's move will embarrass the other members of the Balkan Entente. If they recognise Turkey's aims as justified, they must, if they are consistent, come to a similar view of other nations which, for the same reasons as those given by Turkey, might demand the revision of certain treaties that restrict their right to defend their territory.

Greece Warns Bulgaria

From "Elefthéron Vima," Athens

INSTEAD of disarmament, which has become a pious memory, we have general rearmament. Turkey has some reason for believing that disagreement between the Great Powers of the West has rendered problematical the collective guarantee of the security of the Straits offered Turkey by England, France, Italy and Japan in return for demilitarisation of the Straits. One point only is arguable. Turkey believes that Anglo-Italian tension in the eastern Mediterranean constitutes a concrete danger to the Straits. We are convinced that our Turkish friends exaggerate on this point. The Abyssinian affair has definitely taken Italy towards other horizons.

As disinterested friends and partners of our eastern neighbour, to whom we are bound by the Veniselos agreement of 1930, by the treaty of 1933, and by the Balkan Pact, we support every reinforcement of his security as a reinforcement of our own.

Bulgaria has not the slightest right to take the Turkish action as a precedent for demanding the abolition of the military clauses of the Treaty of Neuilly. Turkey does not demand the remilitarisation of the demilitarised zone around Adrianople adjacent to the Bulgarian frontier, as she demanded it in 1933. Should Bulgaria try to fish in troubled waters and raise the question of an outlet to the Aegean, she will meet with a combined refusal from Turkey and Greece.

But, for all her attachment to Greco-Turkish friendship, Greece cannot act without consulting certain powers such as England, to whom she is bound by traditional good feeling.

THE UBIQUITOUS BOLSHEVIK

From the "Journal de Moscou," Moscow

When the troubles in Spain were at their height, M. Maurice Prax, special correspondent of the "Petit Parisien" in Barcelona, obtained a sensational interview from Bela Kun, ex-Dictator of Hungary, now a prominent member of the Communist International. No sooner had the interview been published than M. Prax's colleague, M. Luciani, correspondent of the "Petit Parisien" in Moscow, also obtained an interview from Bela Kun, this time within five minutes walk of the Kremlin. M. Luciani convinced himself of the ex-Dictator's actual presence by taking photographs of him, then tactlessly went on to remark that "he was pale, having just recovered from an illness that had confined him to a Moscow hospital for three months." After Bela Kun had modestly admitted "that, like all cultivated men, he had heard of Cervantes and Calderon," but that otherwise his knowledge of Spain was limited, the following discussion took place.

LUCIANI: You are aware that whenever a revolutionary movement breaks out anywhere many people say, "The Comintern's responsible, Moscow's got a finger in the pie." Rightly or wrongly, the general impression is that Moscow governs the Comintern, *i.e.*, that the Russian section subordinates all the others to itself.

BELA KUN: The Comintern directs the revolutionary movement. But the Comintern is just as much Thorez, Marty, Pieck and Ercoli as it is Manuilsky.* All the sections are brothers, and a fraternal solidarity and equality unites them.

LUCIANI: But there are elder brothers who have great influence on their younger brothers.

BELA KUN: No doubt there are old revolutionaries with a great deal of experience. Their advice may be valuable, that of Cachin* for instance. But do not think that the relations between the Comintern and the other sections resemble the relations between the Pope, the head of the Roman Church, and the national churches.

LUCIANI: But is it not possible to say that the Comintern is a

*Thorez: *General Secretary, French Communist Party.* Marty: *French Communist, ringleader of mutiny in French Black Sea fleet during war of intervention against the U.S.S.R.* Pieck: *Member of Politbureau, Comintern (German section).* Ercoli: *Same (Italian section).* Manuilsky: *Same (Russian section).* Cachin: *Executive Committee, French Communist Party.*

company in which the U.S.S.R. holds the majority of the shares.

BELA KUN: It would be wrong to believe that. Each national section makes its voice heard. A vote is taken and the decision of the majority adopted.

LUCIANI: Then it's democracy; federalism.

BELA KUN: Our formula is democratic centralism. The policy of our various sections is coordinated by the Congress and by the Executive Committee of the Comintern. Dimitrov, as General Secretary, holds the rudder. But he is not a Russian, he is a Bulgarian. As for me, I am a Hungarian, a better Hungarian than General Goemboes, Prime Minister of Hungary.

LUCIANI: Many people are under the impression that the policy of the Third International is closely dependent on the policy of the Soviet State, and that the Comintern is subordinate to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

BELA KUN: It is the sacred duty of the national sections of the Comintern to defend the first proletarian State in the world. No hesitation on this point. Speaking generally, it is impossible that the interests of the world proletariat, of which the Comintern is a part, should not always exactly coincide with those of the Soviet Union.

Lumière

"And that's not all! The campaign of the French Front Populaire is being financed with Spanish roubles."

Paris

"The Verger at Saint-Sulpice's says he saw Bela Kun hiding in a confessional."

ON THE AIR ~

CRITICS OF EMPIRE BROADCASTS
Should the B.B.C. Use Propaganda?

From the "Straits Times," Singapore

In the report of the Ullswater Committee on Broadcasting in Great Britain, there are several passages which give strong support to a view that has been put before the B.B.C. on many occasions without arousing a great deal of enthusiasm. That view sees in the Empire broadcasting services a most valuable asset for the enhancing of British prestige overseas. When attention has been directed to shortcomings in the Empire services, critics have been told how much the B.B.C. spends on such services and how very little revenue it receives from overseas. When we were discussing this subject some months ago we suggested that Great Britain lagged behind in this matter of propaganda by wireless, and that the Simon-Pure attitude of the B.B.C. in offering to overseas listeners nothing more than mediocre entertainment, colourless news bulletins and non-controversial addresses, with occasional treats in the form of broadcast descriptions of the Derby, the Boat Race or some other important sporting event, constituted a lamentable neglect of a wonderful opportunity. Since that time a note of national propaganda has crept into the news bulletins, but even now the broadcasting stations of France, Italy, Germany, Russia, Japan and Holland, among others, devote far more time to national propaganda than does the B.B.C. The organisations in those countries broadcast in many languages and are at some pains to make their news bulletins so full of interest that the listener is prepared to overlook the obvious partisanship.

Daventry is the only powerful short-wave station in Europe that uses one language only; Paris uses English as well as French and sometimes Arabic for the people in her nearer colonies; Berlin uses Dutch and English as well as German; Holland uses regularly English, German and French in addition to Dutch; Rome uses English as well as Italian daily, and gives weekly talks and news bulletins in Chinese and Hindustani; Russia and Japan both use English. It may be argued that the radio should never have been used for propaganda

work, but however long that argument is pursued, the fact remains that other nations are doing their utmost to win sympathy and understanding of their viewpoints overseas, and in doing so quite often make statements which are detrimental to British interests. By that we do not suggest that the broadcasting of deliberately false reports is common. We mean only that international events take on varying complexions according to the nationality of the observer. It should be one of the first duties of the B.B.C. to ensure that the British point of view is broadcast throughout the world far more fully and in many more languages than has been the case hitherto.

Attention is drawn in the Ullswater Report to this conspicuous development of broadcasting in English from certain foreign countries, and the committee considers that it becomes all the more important, in consequence, that what has been called the " projection of England " should be carried out effectively by the steady development of an Empire service. It has been urged at times that oversea listeners should make some contribution to the B.B.C. revenue, but this claim is not endorsed by the committee, which says : " Certain minor contributions which have been received from colonial governments toward the cost involved in the B.B.C. Empire service are warmly to be welcomed as evidence of goodwill and appreciation, but we consider that the Empire service should be recognised as an important normal function of the broadcasting organisation in this country." If that reasoning is carried to its logical conclusion, we find the British listener being invited to bear the cost of the programmes broadcast to listeners overseas. That position would be indefensible if the overseas listener escaped payment in any form. In point of fact, he is invariably called upon to pay more than is paid by the listener at Home. Already in Malaya the licence fee for a wireless receiving set is $5, or about 11*s.* 8*d.*, as against 10*s.* charged in England, and we have been warned that in the not very distant future Singapore charges will be increased by more than 100 per cent.—to $12, say 28*s.* Whether the entertainment or instructional value of the programmes will increase proportionately remains to be seen, but the odds are heavily against such a fortunate happening.

Let us assume that the overseas listener is confined to the B.B.C. Empire programmes. Now consider the licence fees demanded in England and those demanded here, and compare also the entertainment

and instructional value of the programmes offered to the licensees. Are we unreasonable in describing the current worth of a wireless receiving licence in Malaya as about four cents, with a possible increase to five cents later on ?

TELEVISION IN GERMANY
Big Advances Made

by W. J.

The method followed by Germany for making television a reality differs from that in other countries in so far as Germany has abstained from installing a public television service until the technical progress made ensured good quality. The public have thus been spared disappointments, which would inevitably have led to a falling-off in interest.

In 1932 the German Post Office erected an ultra-short wave transmitter of high capacity which transmitted television performances from the top of the Berlin radio station, at a height of 140 metres. A second transmitter for televising pictures was introduced last year, while the former one gives the relative sound. This " Berlin-Witzleben ultra short wave transmitter " televises talkie films principally, and is in operation practically the whole day. Persons or small scenes are likewise televised directly from the transmitting room by means of the so-called " Scanning beam."

The receiving apparatus has likewise been perfected. Whereas in the case of transmitters, we still find today mechanical analysing devices (Nipkow discs), there are hardly any receivers left with parts which are mechanically mobile. In an upper frame of the receiving apparatus we see the screen of the so-called Braun tubes (Cathode ray tubes) the perfection of which is due in the main to the construction of television receivers of great efficiency, but simple and moderate in price. In the case of large receivers, the frame at present measures 19 by 22 cms, which permits a large number of people to attend a television performance, just like an ordinary talkie film.

It is the custom today in all television transmissions to split up the picture into single picture points by means of so-called " Raster." The finer the *raster* is, that is to say the higher the number of picture-

points, the better the picture. There is, however, a limit to the number of picture points for technical reasons, and still more for reasons of economy. At present Germany has reached a *raster* of 180 lines, 40,000 picture points, and 25 picture changes per second, which quite satisfies all technical and economic requirements. The brightness of the picture permits televising in rooms which are only slightly darkened.

There has been so much progress made that it is unlikely that any fundamental change will be made in the method of television. There was nothing further to hinder the introduction of a public television radio service, and in the Spring of this year the first television transmitter was officially inaugurated. Various public television stations in the main parts of Berlin give the public an opportunity of seeing and hearing the performance free of charge. Those who already have a receiving set at home need only pay the usual radio fees. The cost of television receivers is still rather high, but can by no means be considered as the final figure, as mass manufacture has not yet been started. The experience gained at the radio exhibition held this year justifies the hope that the price of a television receiver will be about the same as that of a first-class radio apparatus.

At the present time the German Post Office is conducting experiments on the Brocken, a mountain 1,142 metres high in the centre of Germany, in order to ascertain whether a television transmitter, in addition to the one in Berlin, could be installed there with a range of 150 to 200 kilometres. As things stand at present, television performances can only be enjoyed by those living within a radius of about thirty miles of the capital, that is to say about four and a half million people. This small range, despite a transmission power of 16 kw., is explained by the fact that in order to obtain high-class pictures very short waves of 5-10 metres are used, the range of which, however, agrees essentially with the optical range of vision. According to this, if all Germany is to participate in the pleasures of television, it would be necessary to instal about 20-25 individual transmitters, if possible on suitable naturally elevated ground, or on high towers.

As the execution of this plan will take some time, the transmitter, for the time being, is a moveable one. If the experiments, which are being conducted this summer, turn out satisfactorily, then it will be replaced by a final, fixed transmitter.

Thus it is intended, in the course of time, to equip Germany with a system of television transmitters. The programmes will probably be conducted to the individual transmitters by high frequency cables, by means of which true reproduction is guaranteed. These television cables, moreover, would enable telephone subscribers to see and hear each other at the same time. The charge for this would not be excessive.

Now that technical perfection in television has been accomplished, the question arises as to the form of the programmes. The talkie film in all its variations appears eminently suitable. However, direct reproductions of persons and plays will be more and more the order of the day ; a lecturer will be visible to his hearers, or he will be able to illustrate his lectures by pictures. For performances in the open-air, such as sport, etc., use will be made of the so-called intermediate film process. By this means the scene to be transmitted is filmed, the film strips are immediately developed and, while still wet, sent through the transmitter. Only thirty seconds elapse between the taking of the film and the transmission. By means of such an intermediate film transmitter, the opening of the German Radio Exhibition was transmitted in 1934.

The radio engineers of Germany are mainly concerned with putting television in Germany on a footing that will prove economically profitable. They are pursuing slowly but surely the way which will lead them to the attainment of a television receiving set which will satisfy all demands.

YOU AND ME

This pathetic story I found on a tear-stained piece of paper that was lying in the American market yesterday : Estimated population of the United States, 124,000,000. Subject to old-age pensions under the Townsend plan, 50,000,000. Balance, 74,000,000. Minors ineligible to work under the child labour laws, 60,000,000. Balance, 14,000,000. Number of unemployed according to Father Coughlin, 13,999,998. Leaving the number to produce the country's requirement, 2. Just you and me. And I'm tired.—"*Autolycus*," *Financial Times, London.*

TORNADO HARVEST

Reports from the West are that the wheat looks fine as it goes flying past.—*Topeka State Journal, U.S.A.*

ARE YOU DYNAMIC?

by ALBERT MOUSSET

From the "Journal des Débats," Paris

ARE you dynamic? If not, renounce your place in the sun. The world is marching under the banner of dynamics. Do not look for the word in Larousse, he will refer you back to Aristotle's philosophy. Look for it in Baron Aloisi's recent speech before the Council of the League, and above all in Herr Goebbels's oratorical anthology. It recurs again and again as *Leitmotiv*, to justify all the astonishing drives of the Third Reich. The rearmament of March 16, 1935—dynamics. The remilitarisation of the Rhineland—dynamics. The threat to the Ukraine—dynamics!

It is a word that is destined to make history in our century. It enlarges the already respectable battalion of "missionary expressions," in which are crystallised so many diverse passions: such as "jesuits," "international finance," "the monetary veil," "the merchants of death," etc. . .

At bottom, dynamics is a word that expresses an ancient unrest. Neither Hitlerism nor Fascism invented it. There have been many dynamic individuals in the past; Alexander, Jenghiz Khan, Tamerlane, Frederick II, Napoleon. We are far from Aristotle and his politics. But the word carries an air of fatality that astonishes and seduces. It evokes a one-way enthusiasm, an elemental urge to expansion, with envy and revolt murmuring in the background.

In a time like ours, it would appear that wisdom, if not heroism, would consist in a people adjusting its ambitions to its means, in pulling in the reins and bowing its head until the storm is past. But dynamics are not synonymous with heroism, still less with wisdom. Its theoreticians imagine that history records nothing but gigantic collective effort. Miserable handfuls of men, however, moved by more than earthly ideals, and solitary explorers, have ploughed a deeper furrow in the memory of mankind than many a hecatomb.

Dynamics are for dictatorships what divine right was for the ancient monarchies. But the kings were under the control of their ministers, their confessors and their mistresses, while the dictators shelter themselves behind a force that is conveniently anonymous and

mechanical. Dynamics are mechanised divine right. The paradox of our times is a curious one. We see humiliated peoples led by wills of iron, strong peoples directed by the meek.

France is not a dynamic country. Why look elsewhere for the cause of the attacks to which she is subjected? She believes, like Bossuet, that she has been given power to preserve what is hers and not to usurp that of others. She wants to be left in peace. The idea is such a simple one that there is no need to ransack Greek to express it.

THE WORLD TO-DAY

EVERY increase in the productive power of labour but increases rent—the price that labour must pay for the opportunity to utilise its powers; and thus all the advantages gained by the march of progress go to the owners of land, and wages do not increase. Wages cannot increase; for the greater the earnings of labour the greater the price that labour must pay out of its earnings for the opportunity to make any earnings at all. The mere labourer has thus no more interest in the general advance of productive power than the Cuban slave has in advance in the price of sugar. And just as an advance in the price of sugar may make the condition of the slave worse, by inducing the master to drive him harder, so may the condition of the free labourer be positively, as well as relatively, changed for the worse by the increase in the productive power of his labour.—For, begotten of the continuous advance of rent, arises the speculative tendency which discounts the effect of future improvements by a still further advance of rent, and thus tends, where this has not occurred from the normal advance of rent, to drive wages down to the slave point—the point at which the labourer can just live . . .

LOOK over the world today. In countries the most widely differing—under conditions the most diverse as to government, as to industries, as to tariffs, as to currency—you will find distress among the working-classes; but everywhere that you thus find distress and destitution in the midst of wealth you will find that the land is monopolised; that instead of being treated as the common property of the whole people, it is treated as the private property of individuals; that, for its use by labour, large revenues are extorted from the earnings of labour. Look over the world today, comparing different countries with each other, and you will see that it is not the abundance of capital or the productiveness of labour that makes wages high or low; but the extent to which the monopolisers of land can, in rent, levy tribute upon the earnings of labour.

ON the land we are born, from it we live, to it we return again—children of the soil as truly as is the blade of grass or the flower of the field. Take away from man all that belongs to land, and he is but a disembodied spirit . . . Everywhere, in all times, among all peoples, the possession of land is the base of aristocracy, the foundation of great fortunes, the source of power. As said the Brahmins, ages ago:

> "To whomsoever the soil at any time belongs, to him belong the fruits of it. White parasols and elephants mad with pride are the flowers of a grant of land."

PROFESSOR JOHN DEWEY, the well-known educationist, says of the author of what is written above: "It would require less than the fingers of the two hands to enumerate those who, from Plato down, rank with him. No man, no graduate of a higher educational institution has a right to regard himself as an educated man in social thought unless he has some first-hand acquaintance with this great thinker."

The author is Henry George and the book is "*Progress and Poverty*. An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth," the new edition of which, bound in red cloth, 406 pages, may be obtained through any booksellers, or will be sent for one shilling post free. Enquire, also, for other one shilling titles and full list of publications dealing with social and economic subjects from HENRY GEORGE FOUNDATION, 94 Petty France, London, S.W.1

Advt.

ENGLAND SAYS —

So many of our readers live abroad that we shall continue to print extracts from the English periodicals for their benefit.

THE TRAGEDY OF AUSTRIA

THE tragic condition of "Austria—below ground and above" is described by Mr. G. E. R. Gedye, one of the leading newspaper correspondents in Vienna, writing in the *Contemporary Review.*

The Austrian Government recently admitted that some two thousand Socialists and Communists, mostly untried, were in the two central prisons of Vienna. But there are more outside. The most significant feature in the new conscription law was the phrase "with or without arms."

> It is obvious that the Government could not give arms and military training to the able-bodied male population as a whole. The Socialists, when last elections permitted a check up on their strength, were forty-four per cent. of the population, and there is no sign that any considerable proportion have undergone a change of heart, except in so far as they have gone over to the Communists. The Nazis are variously estimated at between twenty-five and thirty per cent., and are the more dangerous because of their strength among the police and the official classes. To arm these two hostile groups would be to hasten, first, a revolution against the present system and, secondly, civil war between these two groups in a struggle for the mastery.

Communists, Socialists and Nazis all suffer from a police system "adopted from Czarist Russia." But the Nazis come off best.

> Charged with participation in the February 1934 fighting, the Socialists Kutschera, Fritz, Heuzer and Friedrich, on returning from emigration in hopes of amnesty, have just been given five years' imprisonment each. The Nazi Schiller, who played a prominent part in the Nazi revolt of July 1934 and returned from exile without expectation of amnesty, got fifteen months.

The Austrian Government says, in private: "We cannot afford to slacken this iron system; there are too many forces against us, and chaos would result." Mr. Gedye believes that British and French policy bears a large share of responsibility for the present state of affairs. Something must be done to put an end to Italian influence.

> The new Protocols of Rome, combined with the subjection of Albania to the Italian yoke, in the new Tirana agreements, have dangerously increased Italian imperial power in Europe, and brought nearer the attack on Yugoslavia which is

now encircled by Italy, Austria, Hungary and Albania. The "Italian course" of the Austrian Government only increases its unpopularity in Austria. Tyrol is bitter over Vienna's friendship with the forces which annexed and tyrannise South Tyrol. Educated middle-class youth is exasperated by Catholic tyranny.

There is only one way in which Great Britain can really help the Austrian people, and it will cost something. It means the assumption of binding treaties, obligations to defend the independence of a free and democratic Austria, this key position to block German domination of the Balkans and thus of the Suez Canal and our road to the East. It may also cost yet more British money. But, like the Duce, we should be equally entitled to our price for help. That should be nothing less than the complete exclusion of Italian influence, the prompt abandonment of government by the repressive measures summarised above, and the restoration by gradual but rapidly successive stages of democracy and full self-government to the Austrian people, which alone can turn them into a solid block by giving them something worth living for, defending, and in the last resort dying for—liberty.

Red and Brown Perils

Sir Francis Lindley, the well-known ex-ambassador, contemplates the "Tragic Plight of Europe" in the *National Review*. He is uncompromising in his criticism of Germany.

The present position is that Germany has been for some years, and is now, spending something like one thousand million sterling annually on armaments and employing at least five million persons in their manufacture. Good authorities calculate the output of aeroplanes at the rate of forty per day. In short, armaments are being piled up at a rate never before approached by any nation in time of peace and by very few in time of war. Moreover, the population has now for some years been taught that war is the most noble of human pursuits. In these circumstances I was not surprised, when I recently visited the Continent, to find a general feeling of unrelieved gloom. A kind of fatalistic resignation to an inevitable catastrophe. I did not visit Germany ; but I learn from a friend who did so about a month ago that those highly-placed Germans who are not hypnotised by Hitler are in exactly the same state of mind. Everyone is saying that Germany has got into a state from which there is no issue but war—and war very soon.

Russia is seen to be an even greater danger to the peace of Europe. How, asks Sir Francis, could the League of Nations ever have consented to such a Government's becoming a member when its disruptive intentions were so clear ? Bolshevik propaganda, though it has had no success in Great Britain, is very active in Spain, China and South America.

It has become the fashion to belittle the world-revolutionary ambitions of the Soviet; to believe, or to pretend to believe, that they have dropped the essential part of their programme, and indeed the very reason of their existence, and that they are gradually evolving into a Government sharing the same sort of views on international affairs as those of civilised countries. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Comintern, or Third International, which is as much a Department of the Soviet Government as is the Ministry of War, proclaims to all that the world revolution is its aim and boasts openly of the headway made in undermining the institutions of so-called friendly countries.

In order to deceive the gullible and those whose desire it is to be deceived, Mr. Litvinov has hit upon a new and arresting slogan. "Peace is one and indivisible" is now his cry, echoed by those in this country who have never yet been right in any view they have expressed regarding foreign affairs. In plain English the slogan means that we are to turn every war into a world-war, and that it is the duty of Englishmen to fight in order to defend the Bolsheviks from attacks provoked by their own hostile activities against their neighbours.

Sir Francis considers the possibility of a preventive war against Germany, but dismisses it as impracticable. We cannot sever our connection with the Continent, for it would be fatal to allow France and the Low Countries to be dominated by Germany. "France and ourselves alone of the Great Powers still represent that Western and Christian civilisation which to most of us makes life worth living." We must give clear guarantees to France, he concludes, but only so far as our vital interests are involved.

Churchillian Fantasy

On March 10 last, Mr. Winston Churchill declared in the House of Commons that "since the arrival of Herr Hitler in power three years ago the Germans have spent about £1,500,000,000 sterling upon warlike preparation directly or indirectly," and that in a single year (1935) from £600,000,000 to £800,000,000 was "spent on armaments in Germany." Mr. Churchill's views on this matter have received much publicity, and not a little criticism in Great Britain. His most formidable critic seems to be Professor William A. Bone, Fellow of the Royal Society, and head of the Department of Chemical Technology at the Imperial College of Science in London. In the *Nineteenth Century and After*, Professor Bone has made a critical examination of "Germany's Rearmament."

The expenditure of £1,500,000,000 on armaments in three years by any country would involve such prodigious industrial effort as could not be hidden; and it would assuredly be reflected somewhere in its finances or industrial statistics. For the sum in question is nearly twice the present total annual revenue of Great Britain, 50 per cent. greater than the whole of the capital sunk in British railways, and more than three and a half times greater than the capital sunk in all British authorised gas and electricity undertakings put together. It would suffice to build nearly 200 35,000-ton battleships, or as many *Queen Marys*. And it certainly could not have been effected without such serious dislocations in Germany's iron and steel industries as would, so to speak, have shouted from the housetops, but which in fact seem not to have been observed, save in Churchillian dreams.

Professor Bone concludes that, though "the extent of German rearmament during 1934 and 1935 . . . has not been negligible" and is a factor to be reckoned with, Mr. Churchill's recent allegations should be dismissed as "gross exaggerations unworthy of credence."

FAREWELL SILVER AND HAIL BICYCLES

Autonomy of North China can be discussed without changing the complexion of affairs so long as business continues to progress. One of the large stores has just collapsed. This store was used as a deposit for money something like a bank, so it has ruined many small investors. A fight occurred because a debt was being paid in paper money instead of silver—the creditor not realising that silver had been taken from circulation.

The silversmiths are in despair as they are required to use other metal than silver and they do not know how to work it.

There has been some progress here along business lines, foreign goods being more and more brought in. The bicycle is now a common sight, and many of the riders preserve the old time idea of politeness to alight when an acquaintance approaches on foot. From a Chinese point of view no one can ride past a friend even on so humble a thing as a wheel-barrow! When the motor car is more used this custom will naturally be discontinued.—*North China Herald, Shanghai.*

MAKING UP A BUDGET

The use of lipstick has spread considerably in Japan in the course of the last few years, and the Japanese Government has decided to make it a source of profit to the State. A lipstick monopoly will be created on the lines of the tobacco monopolies of Europe. Government circles, in view of the fact that feminine coquetry is at least as prevalent in the East as in the West, believe that the new monopoly will prove a valuable support for the budget.—*Prager Tageblatt, Prague.*

HIGH-SPEED JAPANESE DIVORCES

One out of every ten marriages in Japan—and one is contracted every minute—ends in divorce, according to statistics compiled by the Ministry of Home Affairs. This rate is said to be second only to that of the United States. An average of 86 per cent. are brought by wives.—*Indian States Bulletin.*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We welcome correspondence from our readers on any subject connected with international affairs. Letters intended for publication should be as short and concise as possible.

WHEN DID WHO INVADE WHAT?

From COUNT ALBRECHT MONTGELAS

(*The writer is the well-known German publicist who for many years was London correspondent of the now defunct "Vossische Zeitung."*)

SIR—May a German who has for many years advocated and worked for a better understanding and an honest peace between France and his country be allowed a few observations in the service of truth and honesty which, after all, are conditional to understanding and friendship between nations as well as between individuals.

In the May number of the WORLD REVIEW OF REVIEWS, you quote from *L'Homme Libre*, an article by L. Masson-Forestier. It contains, besides opinions, one statement of fact, namely that "France was invaded in 1792, in 1814, in 1815, in 1870 and in 1914." Of late this extraordinary version of France's military and political history, which is of course the official French version, has found its way into the English press and into speeches by British statesmen and politicians. Mr. Winston Churchill has quite recently in an article in the *Evening Standard*, and in a letter to *The Times*, jeopardised his reputation as a serious and detached historian of more than amateur standing by repeating this French refrain about "the four invasions in a hundred years." What are the facts?

On April 20, 1792, the Revolutionary Legislative Assembly in Paris declared war on Austria. The resulting war, after a few minor successes by the Austrian army and the contingents of her German fellow states, ended in the occupation and annexation of the whole of Belgium (till then under the Austrian crown) and of the whole of the German territory on the left bank of the Rhine.

Let Frenchmen tell you who started this "invasion of 1792" which ended in the annexation of German people and lands. The well-known French historian Emile Bourgeois (*Manuel historique de Politique Française*) writes: "Never was a war more passionately hoped for than the one which the French prepared in 1792." Jacques Bainville (*Histoire des Deux Peuples*): "The truth is that the Revolution wanted the war. She brought it about. Deliberately the Legislative Assembly declared war on Austria." And Danton in that very Assembly on January 31, 1793, in a speech glorifying the war (which through France's declaration of war on January 1, had also become a war with England) proclaimed that France was now going to achieve her "natural frontiers": the Rhine, the Ocean, the Alps and the Pyrenees. "Those shall be the frontiers of the Republic and no power on earth will prevent us from establishing them."

Danton, like Louis XIV, like Clemenceau, was a true Frenchman.

How about the "second invasion" in 1814? The campaign of 1814, which delivered Spain, Italy, Belgium, Holland and the whole of western Germany including the cities of Bremen and Hamburg from years of French subjugation and ended with the return of the Bourbon King Louis XVIII to Paris on May 3,

1814, this " invasion " had begun with the retreat of Napoleon from Moscow in October, 1812 !

On March 20, 1815, Napoleon, from Elba, was back in Paris. That started the " third invasion " of France which was over three months later when at a small village in Belgium called Waterloo the fate of Napoleon was finally settled.

So much for the first three " invasions " of France. Must the countrymen of Nelson and Wellington really be told who was the aggressor in the wars of revolutionary and Napoleonic France ? And must the distinguished descendant and biographer of the victor of Blenheim really be reminded of the character of the wars waged by Louis XIV for the aggrandisement of France ?

There remain the two invasions of 1870 and 1914.

We all know the unexpected results for the people of France of the declaration of war by the government of Napoleon III on Prussia (July 19, 1870) and of the cries of " Revenge for Sadowa " and "A Berlin ! " raised by politicians and courtiers and echoed by the Paris mob. But here again let Frenchmen be witnesses. Bourgeois (Vol. III, page 717) writes : " It must be admitted that the nation looked forward to this war with impatience." The famous Adolphe Thiers (*Histoire de la Revolution du 4 Septembre*, page 16) states : " Those responsible for the disastrous war try today to justify themselves by saying that the Prussians wanted the war, had prepared for it from long hand and had merely waited for an opportunity to start fighting. Having had the opportunity to acquaint myself thoroughly with the facts, I declare this to be a deliberate lie."

And Emperor Napoleon III himself, in a letter to the Countess de Mercy-Argenteau dated 2.11.1871, admits : " Je reconnais que nous avons été les agresseurs." (*Bulletin Officiel de la Société d'Etudes Documentaires et critiques sur la Guerre.*)

May I add to these Frenchmen the testimony of a neutral ? In his recently (1934) published biography of *Albert of Belgium*, which is at the same time an excellent history of his country, the Belgian author Emile Cammaerts writes about the war of 1870 : " After Austria's defeat in 1866 a direct conflict between France and Prussia had become unavoidable. Napoleon was driven to it by internal difficulties and his failure to restore his prestige through diplomatic success."

We have now arrived at 1914, the " fifth invasion." France was invaded. She had by her alliance with Russia accepted beforehand a fate which in the case of the outbreak of an eastern war would automatically bring her into the fray. As all the world knows, the war in 1914 started over a question of " honour and prestige " of a Slav state, Serbia, and of Russia as the self-appointed protector of pan-Slav ambitions. For Austria-Hungary it was a question of life or death. For France it was a free choice with a gambling chance of successful revenge for 1870. A bloody gamble which, with the help of German diplomatic stupidity and a world of allies, France won.

May I close these quotations with one from the fateful year 1914 ? On January 16 of that year the Belgian minister in Paris, Baron Guilleaume, wrote to his Foreign Minister Davignon in Brussels : " I have already had the honour of reporting to you that Messrs. Poincaré, Delcassé, Millerand and their friends were the authors of the nationalistic, militaristic and chauvinistic policy, the revival of which we have observed. In my opinion it is the attitude of the Barthou Cabinet which has brought about the increase of militaristic tendencies in Germany." (Official Belgian Documents, Supplementary Volume I.)

The same Barthou, sixteen years after the frightful world catastrophe,

conceived the idea of a military alliance with Soviet Russia, which after his assassination in Marseilles was carried out by his successors. They too, like Barthou, like Clemenceau and Poincaré, like the Napoleons, like Danton, like Louis XIV, are true Frenchmen.

May I add a personal experience? During the League of Nations Council's meeting in London following the re-occupation of the German Rhineland by Germany I lunched with some French journalist friends. In the excitement and tenseness prevailing during those days a very famous French colleague exclaimed: "Nous voulons pas jouer en Europe le rôle du Portugal. La politique d'une grande nation ne change pas. Nous permetterons jamais l'agrandissement de l'Allemagne!"

That is the voice of Paris, her politicians and her journalists. The hope for understanding and peace between Germany and France lies with the peace-loving French people, who have suffered again and again through the "politique traditionelle" of their rulers.

Yours, etc.

London, May 17. MONTGELAS

THE BLOODSUCKERS

A copy of a letter addressed to Herr Hitler has been sent to us, as well as to M. Flandin, Signor Mussolini and "the skunk now in the White (Red) House." It is in such contrast to the friendly welcome every Englishman receives in the United States that we think our readers may be amused to read those extracts from it which are printable! We regret that we cannot supply a glossary.

AIR-PORT,
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, U.S.A.

DEAR HITLER,

We AMERICAN aviators wish you to know that we are back of you with our lives, if it becomes necessary, to exterminate the obnoxious BRITISH plunderer, and smash for once and for all their bloodsucked empire.

We are firm in our belief, after smelling their stink in 1917, that a handful of AMERICAN aviators could drive the filthy-stinking-yellow-cowardly-grabbing-squawking-parasitic-buzzardy BRITISH CURS, and this includes every last one of them, to hell where they belong and never should have emerged, within a brief few weeks.

The entire world is yearning for you to get going . . . we will even matters of 1917 with this cowardly-stinking-plundering gang of rats; all you have to do is to start the ball a-rolling.

Don't let these dirty-stinking-filthy-obnoxious BRITISH ghouls bluff you . . . tear into them, and watch the curs haul ass.

Down with the dirty-screaming-bluffing-conniving blood-sucking BRITISH and we rid the world of all hatred and trouble . . . get going Hitler, we aroused, despoiled Americans are itching to even the rotten-stinking-slimy 1917 score.

AROUSED AVIATORS OF NEWARK AIR-PORT.

Come and See

- SOME OF THE MOST FAMOUS ART CITIES IN THE WORLD
- THE BELGIAN COAST
- THE ARDENNES
- THE COUNTRY OF LIEGE

BELGIUM CALLS YOU

- BELGIUM IS THE CHEAPEST COUNTRY IN EUROPE FOR A HOLIDAY
- ALL ITS HOTELS ARE UNDER LEGAL OBLIGATION, THUS COMPLETELY SAFE-GUARDING THE TRAVELLER
- ALL CHARGES AND PRICES ARE POSTED UP IN THE HOTELS

The traveller will obtain full information from

THE

BELGIAN-LUXEMBURG TOURING OFFICE

(Office Belgo-Luxembourgeois de Tourisme)

LONDON
99 Regent Street

BRUSSELS
48 Place de Brouckère

TRAVEL

¶ *We remind our readers that we are always glad to give advice on travel questions, and are in a position to obtain from the right quarters any information that may be required about tickets, hotels, etc.*

UNCONVENTIONAL TRAVEL IN EUROPE

by BERNARD NEWMAN

Mr. Bernard Newman has himslf been an unconventional traveller in more than twenty European Countries. He is the author of a series of exciting spy stories and of unusual travel books, including "The Blue Danube," and "Pedalling Poland."

For my own part, I like to travel unconventionally, on foot or on a humble bicycle ; this method seems to bring me as near as is possible to the hearts of the people. But this does not mean that I scorn what is sometimes derisively called "the tourist track." The men who first plotted this "tourist track" had heads on their shoulders, for generally it is intelligently and even magnificently planned. My complaint is that we move with such sheepish docility along this tourist track that other and equally fascinating corners are almost ignored. For every hundred tourists who visit Nuremberg and Rothenburg, one penetrates to Ulm and Kelheim. The first two places are fascinating—but so are the others. Every visitor to Germany tours the Rhine country, but how many pass on to the Danube ? There are stretches of scenery along the German Danube which are as pleasant as any in Europe, and along its banks lies a succession of quaint and intriguing medieval towns which rival any of the more popular showplaces.

Certainly our travel has been too conservative. Europe teems with places crying out aloud to be visited. Even the tourist track along the Rhine is too narrow, and many of the converging valleys remain quiet and unexplored. The Black Forest we know, but how many people visit the complementary Vosges, on the opposite half of the river ? We swarm into a limited area of Bavaria, but only a few wise connoisseurs know of the chains of Thuringia, or the glorious hills of the Bayrischer and Böhmer Wälder.

It is interesting to visit France and Germany in a single holiday ; the most casual observation will be more revealing than many books. France, although deservedly looming large on the British tourist horizon, also contains many districts which have been strangely neglected. The mountains of Savoy, the imposing remains of Roman France, the chateaux of the Loire, the wild glory of the Pyrenees—these are among the things which a man must see before he dies. But there are others. Dinard and the *Plages* of northern Brittany we know, but a comparatively small number of discerning people pass to the south, to the delights of Vannes and Quimper. The Riviera we know—and, in spite of its sophisti-

cation, it is a marvellous coast—but how many penetrate into the high valleys of the adjacent Maritime Alps ? Or cross to Corsica, admirably equipped by Nature to rival Switzerland as the playground of Europe ?

Of Switzerland I need not speak, except to say that even here the saturation point of interest has not yet been reached. Its grandest mountains are now readily accessible, but knowing people whisper of valleys about which Mr. Cook never heard, and which even Herr Baedeker passed lightly by. And they mention prices which make eyebrows rise incredulously. It is not that tourist Switzerland is expensive, but if a vast number of people insist on visiting one spot for a brief period in a year, demanding comfort and service, they must expect to contribute towards the uneconomic months.

So far I have mentioned only the more popular tourist countries ; these, with well-established favourites like Belgium, Holland, Austria and Scandinavia, will always dominate the trend of European travel. Today, however, the ease of travel leads us easily to lands which our fathers regarded as distant and inaccessible. Russia attracts increasing numbers of visitors annually, but even the indefatigable and efficient Intourist would admit that no more than the fringe of travel in Russia has yet been touched. The vast expanse of territory covers countless changes of scene and of races, and the communist experiment is of overwhelming interest even to its opponents.

I prophesy an early and considerable increase in the tourist traffic to Poland and the Balkans. Western Poland is readily accessible—preferably by boat direct from Tower Bridge to Danzig or Gdynia—and is equally attractive. When politicians talk of the Polish Corridor, they omit to tell us what a pleasant land of hills and lakes it is. Warsaw is more than interesting, and never have I met a city with so gentle an atmosphere as Krakow. The High Tatra group of the Carpathian Mountains is already held in high repute by people of judgment, but for my own part I favour Poland's south-east corner, near the frontiers of Rumania and Czechoslovakia. Here is the mountain land of the Huculs, a Ruthenian tribe of intriguing origin, for prominent among its ancestors were outlawed Polish nobles.

The Balkans share with Finland the reputation of being the cheapest countries of Europe. The show-places of Greece and the Dalmatian coast are familiar, but the interior is strangely ignored. There is no more fascinating corner of Europe than Sarajevo and Moslem Bosnia ; no finer display of peasant costumes than in the Rumanian Carpathians—a fascinating area this, particularly on the Transsylvanian side, almost the last European stronghold of vampiric belief. Bulgaria (perhaps the cheapest of all) is a veritable *terra incognita*. In its ancient capital Trnovo it has at least one city which *must* be seen ; the neighbouring monasteries rival that of Rilo. A sight unique to Bulgaria, too, is the famous Valley of Roses,

BUDAPEST, PRAGUE, VIENNA
16 DAYS escorted departures from MAY to SEPTEMBER **24** GNS
CONTINENTAL & ORIENTAL TOURS LTD.

OUR SPORT SERVICE MANAGES YOUR SHOOTING
Partridges, Pheasants from 1st AUGUST
Ducks, etc. - from SEPTEMBER
LONDON OFFICE OF THE BUDAPEST FAIR 8 NEW BOND STREET, W.1 REG: 1018

source of the greater part of the world's supply of attar of roses. In May and early June the valley is a marvellous spectacle, a hundred square miles of roses against a mountain background.

The traveller who would journey economically should make a point of living on the country. It is, of course, part of the thrill of travel to taste new and intriguing dishes, but in these days of currency restrictions the use of local products is doubly advisable. In Bulgaria, for example, the fare is good and very cheap ; a chicken costs a few pence and grapes in season are almost valueless—in some hotels they are placed in the bedroom in lieu of a bottle of water !—but a two-penny bar of imported chocolate costs eightpence !

Here in the Balkans, too, is a wonderful field for that most fascinating study —of men a shade more primitive than ourselves. Here are superstitions and customs dating back to pagan days. I challenge the most sophisticated traveller to visit without thrill the wildly magnificent valleys of High Albania, where the Law of Lek still prevails—a primitive form of honour-slaying—and where the Government provides armed escort free.

Mountains make for scenic grandeur, but plains have charms of a quieter kind. Hungary has only recently entered the field of popular travel, but the number of British visitors has increased by 300 per cent. in the last three years. So far the beaten track is far too narrow—Budapest and a charabanc ride across the great plain. Budapest is one of the finest capital cities of Europe, but the plain demands a more leisurely treatment than the normal tour provides. Of intriguing interest is the life of the Hungarian cowboy, prototype of his American cousin ; it is difficult to picture this vast expanse of unbroken turf so accustomed is the eye to strips and hedges. The galloping herds of half-wild horses, the grazing long-horned cattle, geese by the thousand, pigs with hair so thick and curly that they can be mistaken for sheep—all these are tended by a picturesque race of cowboys, living for weeks at a stretch in isolated shacks.

Hungarian peasant costume is justly famous, and is almost unrivalled in the richness of its colours. Any Sunday evening in a Hungarian village (or, for that matter, in almost any village in south-eastern Europe) is like a scene from a spectacular play—men, women and children in a brilliant array of gorgeous costumes, dancing traditional measures to the music of gypsy players.

King Richard's Gaol

Returning to better known centres of travel, the argument continues. Vienna is and always has been a hub of travel ; the Tyrol rivals Switzerland in its scenic attractions. Yet the Austrian Danube is comparatively neglected. The stretch known as the Wachau makes the Rhine appear strangely subdued—the river flowing between gloriously wooded mountains, crowned by the ruined castles of the old robber barons, ancient monasteries nestling below, with adjacent villages which might almost have stepped from the pages of a picture book. I strongly advise every traveller to Vienna to get off the train at Passau, and voyage thence by Danube steamer. A dozen times he will be impelled to halt ; who could pass by Dürnstein, where our own Richard Lion-Heart was imprisoned ?

The northern slopes of the Pyrenees are well-known, but the Spanish side is unfrequented. Andorra is now opened up even to the traveller who demands comparative luxury ; sophistication is spoiling the pigmy republic, sole survivor of Charlemagne's chain of buffer-states against Moorish invasion—it should be visited early, before its mediaeval atmosphere has completely disappeared. Not

less interesting, but far less known, is the Basque valley of Roncal, nearer to the western end of the Pyrenees, where every man claims rank of nobility—descended from rewards to his ancestors for valour against the Moors.

The Spain of the south is known, but cannot be spoiled. There is no more charming holiday than a voyage to Gibraltar and a leisurely journey around the old kingdom of Granada. Casual halts at a few villages *en route*—it does not matter very much which they are—will reveal a wealth of colour and of interest which is surprising, even for Spain.

Dozens of other places call for catalogue ; the majesty of the Kazan Gorge ; the glories of ancient Greece ; the grandeur of the fiords and the wonder of the midnight sun. Not every man can see them all in a lifetime, but every man can see some of them. He has no right to die complaining that he has never seen Carcassonne. He *must* travel if he is to appreciate history, or art or, indeed, any cultural form.

Travel is more than an education to day ; it is a political corrective. The old Grand Tour of our forefathers might usefully be replaced by a political journey around Europe. The Polish Corridor, Memel, Vilna, Silesia, Macedonia, Croatia, Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Alsace-Lorraine (to say nothing of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Communist Russia)—each one of these lie within the scope of a normal holiday, and most of them combine scenic charm and historic atmosphere with the overwhelming interest of their problems.

NATIONAL HIGHWAYS FOR BRITAIN

by CAPTAIN G. E. T. EYSTON

The probability that we shall soon have in Britain a Central Highways Board to control the main roads of the country is now so nearly a certainty that the decision may even be announced before this article appears in print. According to Sir Reginald Clarry, M.P., who is Chairman of the Constructional Section of the Parliamentary Road Group, national control of the roads is a certainty. The only questions now are when and how central control is to be introduced.

Our present system of localised administration has led to many anomalies. On the hundred odd miles of road from London to Birmingham, there are, for instance, twenty-three different types of surface ; while the present variety of road lighting systems, even in London itself, has lately been the subject of much scathing comment. Worst of all is the delay involved in getting the consent of many different authorities to a common policy.

" It apparently requires a period of several years before the complicated negotiations with interested road authorities can be sufficiently advanced to facilitate the expenditure of approximately £77,000,000, a sum practically equivalent to only one year's Exchequer income from the use of motor vehicles," states the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders. I have heard it stated also that one reason why many toll bridges are still unfreed is that when they are on the boundaries of administrative areas, the respective local authorities interested cannot agree among themselves as to who shall find the money to buy out the toll rights.

With the nationalisation of our main roads—for that is virtually what will happen—Britain will fall into line with other countries in Europe, to the

benefit, I hope, of motorists and indeed of all road traffic. In France, the magnificent *routes nationales* are familiar to thousands of British motorists. Since the advent of Mussolini, Italian engineers have evolved their famous *autostrade*. In Germany, Hitler is pursuing a vast programme of trunk road construction. His *Reichsautobahnen* represent the very last word in modern road building.

They are double-tracked express roads, with hedges down the centre to prevent dazzle, and bridges instead of level road inter-sections. Speed is unlimited, and lately the road from Frankfurt to Heidelberg was used for a successful attempt upon international speed records.

These great trunk highways in Germany and Italy are the fruits of national control. Already there are indications that, when roads are nationalised here, we too may embark upon a British equivalent of the *autostrada* or the *Autobahn*. For, side by side with the movement towards national control of the roads, another campaign has started to build a national road running from end to end of the country as a memorial to King George. Its sponsor is a Lancashire surveyor. He proposes a road that would lead from London through the heart of the Midlands and Lancashire to Glasgow, with branches to South Wales, Newcastle and Edinburgh, and a possible extension carrying the road south from London to Dover.

This memorial highway would be a new Watling Street, built on twentieth century lines for twentieth century traffic. Nowhere throughout its length would it pass through a town, although it would serve as a link with all the main cities of the country. All existing roads would be bridged, junctions and

The only International Daily Newspaper in the world - -

"Le Journal des Nations"

Issued at the Seat of the League of Nations.

It documents on the League's life, on International Politics and Economics.

Dossiers on main questions and articles by world-wide authorities on international affairs.

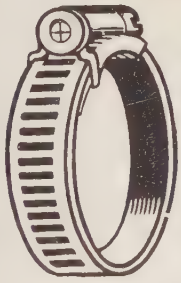
SUBSCRIPTION RATES;—

	3 months	6 months	1 year
Switzerland	S.Fr. 9·50	18·	34·-
Foreign Countries	„ 12·-	22·50	42·-

7, rue J.-A.-Gautier, Geneva

Special Rates for Journalists.

"JUBILEE"



NO-TROUBLE WORM-DRIVE HOSE CLIP

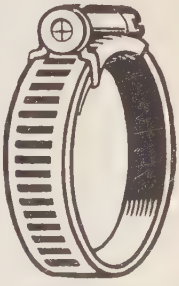
are the BEST TO GET for RADIATOR-JOINTS, LEATHER COVERS on UNIVERSAL JOINTS, AIR, OIL and WATER HOSE JOINTS.

Easy to fit, remove or refit, without damage, repeatedly.

Guaranteed Never to Leak

Stocked by Garages and Assessory Dealers Everywhere

Have a Free Sample Clip to Test.



L. ROBINSON & COY., 20 London Chambers, GILLINGHAM, KENT.

Do YOU know a better oil than

WAKEFIELD

Patent Castrol

"The Autocar" Drawing.

Sir Malcolm Campbell doesn't

—neither does the motorist interested in a modest thirty. To him Patent Castrol has the added advantage that, thanks to its patented chromium and tin content, it reduces cylinder wear and keeps down his oil consumption.

C. C. WAKEFIELD & CO. LTD., *All-British Firm*, Wakefield House, Cheapside, London, E.C.2

connections being laid out on the clover leaf pattern, of which I have seen many examples during my present visit to America.

As is, of course, already common practice on our new arterial roads, the double-track system would be employed. Planned as a parkway, this memorial road would be a thing of beauty. No ribbon development would be allowed. Trees would not be destroyed, but would be carefully replanted in new positions. The cost is estimated at £40,000,000, a large sum, but spread over the five years it would take to build the road, not an impossible one.

Fenced off like a railway, and open only to motor traffic, this road would serve as an express route for cars, motor coaches and goods vehicles. You could travel from London to Glasgow in six and half hours, or from London to the Lakes between breakfast and lunch.

Many of the great arterial roads of other countries have been built primarily with an eye to their strategic value in time of war. Our own Watling Street was first and foremost for Roman legions to march on. This new " Watling Street " also would be of immense value to our mechanised armies today. The military aspect cannot be ignored, but to the ordinary motorist, this memorial road chiefly claims attention by reason of the benefit it would confer as the central artery of a national highway system, and the relief it would afford to roads that are the most densely trafficked in the world.

Foreign Touring Still Easier

Yet another bogey of foreign motoring has been exorcised, for, thanks to the joint efforts of the A.A. and R.A.C., motorists are no longer required to leave the substantial cash deposit formerly demanded as security for Customs duties. It is necessary now only to produce a banker's indemnity or an insurance guarantee. The A.A. or the R.A.C. stand surety that you will take your car out of whatever country you are visiting within the specified time. Still further to simplify foreign touring and thus encourage visitors, many countries are now dispensing with the international certificate for motor vehicles and the international driving permit.

TOKYO'S RIOTOUS NIGHT-LIFE

To go aparty-ing is fast becoming a major sport in Tokyo. The Society for the Enjoyment of Drinking Coffee likes it so well they hold one every Saturday. —*Japan Advertiser, Tokyo.*

THE CO-PRINCIPALS OF

ROCKLANDS SCHOOL, HASTINGS

give maximum thought and care for the welfare of JUNIOR CHILDREN, 5-14 years of age for Perfect Bodily Health and Cultural Education.

"SIGHT—not GLASSES!"

Defective Vision can now be cured

easily and rapidly by

The New Scientific Method

A most interesting booklet, explaining all ordinary forms of defective vision, will be sent free on request

THE OCULAR APPARATUS CO.,

Guildhall Buildings

Navigation Street, Birmingham 2

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

¶ *The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship.*

ARMS AND THE DIPLOMAT

WAR AND DIPLOMACY IN THE JAPANESE EMPIRE. By Tatsuji Takeuchi. *George Allen and Unwin.* 16*s.*

Reviewed by CAPTAIN M. D. KENNEDY.

FROM time to time in the past, Japan has been accused of practising " dual diplomacy." The charge has come increasingly into prominence since the outbreak of the Manchurian trouble in the autumn of 1931, although in more recent months it is true, foreign cynics have been heard refuting the accusation. Dual diplomacy, they declare, is a thing of the past ; Japanese foreign policy is now wholly under the control of the fighting services.

This is not the place to discuss how far these accusations are justified. It is, nevertheless, one of the merits of the book under review that it shows the reader how easily dual diplomacy can be practised in a country with a written Constitution like that of Japan's, and how this same Constitution enables the Army and Navy to play so important a part in moulding and guiding the course of the country's foreign relations.

Bearing on all this, there is to be found in these pages the legal and historical background to the vexed question of the Supreme Command, a question which figured so conspicuously in connection with Japan's ratification of the London Naval Treaty in 1930. Here, too, is the background to the closely related question of the so-called " Minobe Theory " and to the heated controversy it aroused in Japan last year, a controversy which nearly brought about the overthrow of the Government, and resulted in the banning of Dr. Minobe's scholarly works on Constitutional Law. These and many other matters of fundamental importance for a proper understanding of the workings of Japanese foreign policy are discussed objectively and dispassionately by Professor Takeuchi in the volume under review, and provide a valuable contribution to the study of Japanese diplomacy and of Japan's relations with other countries since the promulgation of her Constitution in 1889.

The book is divided into three parts, the first dealing with what may be called the conduct and control of Japanese foreign policy in theory. The second, and incidentally by far the largest, provides eighteen examples of Japan's foreign policy in actual practice, while the concluding chapters, which go to make up Part III, sum up the principal lessons to be derived from the study of Japanese diplomacy in theory and in practice. It is a useful and interesting work, although, owing to limitations indicated in the Preface, it is in the nature of a reference book for the student already well versed in Japanese history of the past forty odd years

Western Civilization in the Near East

by HANS KOHN

For more than ten years Professor Kohn has been watching the expansionist tendencies of the Great Powers coming into conflict in the Near East. This book sums up his conclusions.

Royal 8vo 15/- *net.*

Kegan Paul

a singularly apt, original and important book

THE TWILIGHT OF TREATIES

by

Y. M. GOBLET

ROBERT BERNAYS, M.P., in *John o'London's Weekly*: 'a book of particular importance . . . a wide and closely documented survey of every danger centre in the modern world.'

HEADWAY: 'fascinating . . . his thought is highly stimulating. It outlines a new and helpful approach to many hitherto intractable difficulties.'

TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT: 'the book has a significance apart altogether from its intrinsic value, which is itself great.'

with 13 maps, 7/6 net
published by **BELL**

Accorded widespread attention in the national press on day of publication, this book is being widely read for its paramount international importance

Germany's War Machine

by ALBERT MÜLLER

'A vast amount of detailed information about German rearmament is given. The facts which he has verified constitute the fullest description yet published of the progress of German rearmament.'—Daily Mail.

'A remarkable dossier of Germany's war plans, revealed from official documents and secret Hitlerite sources by a German'—Daily Herald

Fully illustrated, 7s. 6d. net

Prospectus post free on request from the publishers

Dent

10 Bedford Street, London, W.C.2

An invaluable reference book for bankers and business men

STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK 1936

Edited by

M. EPSTEIN, M.A., Ph.D.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS
(for each country in the world)

Constitution and Government; Area and Population; Production and Industry; Commerce and Communications; Imports and Exports (Statistics); Shipping and Navigation; Currency, Weights and Measures; Diplomatic Representatives; Education; Religion; Finance, &c.

Over 1500 pages, with Maps, 20s. net

"There is no publication whatever that gives anything like the same range of information upon the Governmental aspects of the civilised world."—*The Observer.*

MACMILLAN

rather than for the general reader, whose knowledge in this respect may be limited. " The primary emphasis," as the author puts it, " is placed upon procedure rather than on the substance of policy." Historical details, therefore, find relatively little place in the five hundred odd pages composing this work, though a knowledge of them is essential for a proper understanding of what is written.

Among the many interesting points brought out by Professor Takeuchi may be mentioned that, for reasons fully explained by him, the Japanese Army is generally far better informed than the diplomats on Chinese affairs, a circumstance which helps to explain much that goes on in the realm of Sino-Japanese relations. It is noteworthy, nonetheless, that out of a total of 105 Japanese Consular establishments maintained abroad, no less than fourteen Consulates-general, twenty-four Consulates, and thirteen Branch offices are located in China. There is no dearth, therefore, of sources on which the Japanese Foreign Office may draw for information on Chinese affairs and conditions.

The author also stresses the fact that, contrary to general belief, there are times when it has been the Army rather than the Foreign Office that has favoured a policy of moderation. While, however, he shows a praiseworthy readiness to accord credit where credit is due, Professor Takeuchi makes it quite clear that he himself would prefer to see less interference by the military and greater independence for those who, in most other constitutional countries, are the officials primarily responsible for the formulation and conduct of foreign relations.

WAR AND PEACE

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT? The Case for Constructive Peace. By Aldous Huxley. *Chatto and Windus.* 3*d.*

Reviewed by Hugh I'A. Fausset.

Mr. Aldous Huxley has devoted his powers of lucid exposition very effectively in this pamphlet to the cause of constructive peace. A great many people today, as he points out, have a strong feeling that there should be no more war. But such feeling is impotent in itself and may be no more than a selfish recoil from the prospect of pain. To become effective it must be clearly informed with thought and directed purposively by the will. Mr. Huxley is chiefly concerned with providing the clear thinking, with showing that to feel and will peace is essentially reasonable. He has done this in a series of twelve answers to common anti-pacifists objections, such as that " war is a law of nature," " man is a fighting animal," " history proves war's necessity as an instrument of policy," " violence is ultimately the only sanction of social order," " war is a school of virtues," " the church does not condemn it," " its causes are economic and can be eliminated only by a change in the economic system," " how can pacifism work here and now when confronted by Italy, Germany or Japan ? "

These are some of the questions which Mr. Huxley sets himself to answer. And although doubtless the casuist could here and there score a point against him, on the whole he provides as intelligent a justification of pacifism as could be desired. It is not enough, however, to show that pacifism is reasonable. For war springs from irrational passions and the whole problem of the pacifist is how to resolve these passions in himself and in others, without resorting to violence. It is a problem not merely of thinking right, but of learning to act creatively. Mr. Huxley is well aware of this. While arguing that pacifism is mainly preventive, that is a fostering of co-operative conditions which make the outbreak

BOOKS BY BERNARD NEWMAN

TUNNELLERS *The Story of the Tunnelling Companies, R.E., during the War.* **By Captain Grant Grieve and Bernard Newman. With a foreword by Major-Gen. R. N. Harvey, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.**

Illustrated in line and half-tone, **15s. net.**

Times: "Complete success.....the record of the 32 Tunnelling Companies is one which is hard to beat."

Times Lit. Supp.: "The present account exactly meets the case...should certainly provoke general interest."

PEDALLING POLAND *Illustrated* 10s. 6d. net. A joyous travel book in the vein of *The Blue Danube.* Mounted on his trusty bicycle, "George," Mr. Newman explored the much-debated country of Poland, sometimes to plan, sometimes at random.

IN THE TRAIL OF THE THREE MUSKETEERS *Illustrated* 6s. net. A joyous travel book from a new angle. Readers who can thrill to history, or who love the picturesque, and particularly the millions of friends of the Musketeers, will find in this unusual and fascinating book the lightest yet most thrilling of traveller's tales.

THE BLUE DANUBE **From Black Forest to Black Sea.** *Illustrated* 10s.6d. net. Author of *In the Trail of the Three Musketeers.* An entertaining account of an unusual journey. Starting from the source of the Danube in the Black Forest, Mr. Newman followed the course of Europe's most fascinating river 2,000 miles across seven countries to its mouth in the Black Sea.

PUBLISHED BY HERBERT JENKINS LTD.

EDW G ALLEN & SON LTD

JAPAN'S FOREIGN RELATIONS 1542—1936

A SHORT HISTORY BY ROY AKAGI PH D

1636 Japan A Hermitage
1856 Japan A Market
1906 Japan A Great Power

And What Now?
Conflict With The West?
Or Co-operation?

THE FIRST COMPLETE SURVEY OF

JAPAN'S FOREIGN RELATIONS 1542—1936

Illustrated
17s 6d net

12 & 14 GRAPE STREET WC2

GOVERNMENT AND THE THIRD REICH

By Morstein Marx

8/6

The great merit of Dr. Marx's study is the thorough understanding of the whole background of National Socialism which he brings to his treatment. As a scholar and civil servant in Germany who had already established his right to speak with authority, he is uniquely qualified to interpret contemporary Germany.

McGraw-Hill Publishing Co.Ltd.

ALDWYCH HOUSE LONDON, W.C.2

of war impossible, he admits that in this imperfect world it must also be "a technique of conflict—a way of fighting without the use of violence." His account of the method of non-violent resistance is necessarily brief but it points clearly and invitingly, a way out from the city of destruction, as do the tentative suggestions which he makes in his last section for the organisation of groups, and the undertaking of spiritual exercises which may help the individual to affirm in his life the conviction of unity which is the real foundation of peace.

PORTRAIT IN A CONVEX MIRROR

The author of this review is an Afrikaner, whose judgment of General Smuts consequently differs widely from that of the ordinary Englishman. While we may not share the opinions expressed we are glad to print the review, in accordance with the editorial note which heads this "International Bookshelf" section.

GENERAL SMUTS. By Sarah Gertrude Millin. *Faber & Faber.* 18*s.*

Reviewed by P. BRUCHHAUSEN.

"In our country it (traitor) means simply one who is not wholly devoted to our English interests."—*Warwick in Shaw's "St. Joan."*

This may seem a cruel, even an unwarrantable quotation, with which to open a review of Mrs. Millin's hyper-adulatory "biography" of the man who "is not quite sure how it happened that his name was changed from Jan Christiaan, in the Dutch way, to Jan Christian, in the English way." There are people to whom a change of name means nothing; to most its significance is neither lost nor admirable.

So much about Mrs. Millin's Smuts is whimsical and sentimental that it occurs to one (it is most uncharitable, of course) that men have often been kind to their mothers, and monsters to their fellow men. To the Englishman there may be great Romance in the smug picture of this former Boer war general, and author of the *Century of Wrong*, as he appears in the uniform of the second youngest British general at the end of Volume I. Most of his countrymen, too, take great pride in the impression which his orations on the Liberal outlook have made abroad. But they have also heard the crash of bomb and shell into workers' quarters on the Rand and noted that, in his own country, he is more friendly with the Chamber of Mines than with the liberal-minded among his countrymen.

To British people the career of Smuts, as Empire statesman, is an advertisement for all the humanities they are proud to profess; to his countrymen (and Mrs. Millin, being neither Boer nor Briton, should have been able to grasp this) he is Smuts, the ruthless, the man who is cold to the sufferings of others, the man "who has never discovered human beings."

In the sense that she makes Smuts small by praising those things in him which, somehow, she cannot see are unworthy things, Mrs. Millin's book is bad biography. She repeatedly asseverates Smuts's essential nationalism, but is it fair to him, or to the late General Botha, to boast that they sold their birthright for a mess of pottage, or as she puts it to the same purpose, for "that irresistible welcome and masterly hospitality which turns England's distinguished foes into distinguished friends?"

And yet the book is not altogether bad history. Mrs. Millin wishes to arouse in her reader the profoundest admiration for Smuts, but her very faith

in him reveals him only too truly to the intelligent reader. She is no historian, but her book will not mislead the historian.

As for the personality of Smuts, it is only outside South Africa that he is known as the Great Liberal. It is true a prophet has no honour in his own country, but it is his own people who in the end know him best. There have been good reasons before this for stoning prophets if only to save them from obloquy. Smuts was a man who set little store by his parish pump. He desired all the world for his stage. During the war he got it. His propaganda value alone was worth the fuss made of him. After the war he retired to the village. No doubt there were many who thought him fit for the highest office in Britain ; he might very well have been the best man for the post. That is not the point. The popular imagination might have played with that idea but the time had not yet come for the Senators to make way for a Consul from the Provinces. The usefulness of Smuts was over but that every few years he returns to be held up to an envious world as the product of the British genius for Empire.

Now Smuts is getting old, and though he may be cold by nature there is that in every man which brings him back to his people's hearth in the twilight of his years. Smuts is certainly not liked by English-speaking South Africans they have given him all his more abusive nicknames. But he complains most : " My own people curse me." It is not the people's fault. Recall the affection in which even his most violent opponents held the late General Botha. In his chill and twilight Smuts turned back to his people. He made his peace with them ; not as fully perhaps as some desired but none the less a peace which is definitely in the nature of a family reconciliation.

I have spoken of Smuts's ruthlessness and there are many who take him to be a " strong man." In 1904, when he wrote so pitifully that it would " now be best for the Afrikander people to quit," when he spoke of his " now banished pugnacity," Smuts entered on a career of defeatism punctuated by those strange deeds of violence which really reveal him as a man nonplussed for any other solution. He does really believe in all those lofty ideals to which he gives such grand expression, but look at his acts. He struck a noble attitude at Versailles when he signed the Treaty under protest—but he had also designed its most far-fetched and harshest clauses.

How will Mrs. Millin explain away that period, and the five years of premiership he enjoyed after the guiding hand of General Botha had fallen from him.

THE ITALIANS AT WAR

A WOMAN AT THE ABYSSINIAN WAR. By Muriel Currey. *Hutchinson.* 18*s.* (Illustrated.)

Reviewed by STUART EMENY.

MISS CURREY spent the first three months of the Italian-Abyssinian war with the Italian army on the Eritrean front. She sees the Italian invaders of Abyssinia as liberators carrying the torch of civilisation to the barbarian. She writes of the temporary infirmary set up by the Italians in Adowa and of the happiness on the face of the Abyssinian mother when she saw her baby being cared for ; of the joy of the liberated slaves ; of the pleas of the small chiefs for protection and justice etc., etc. In a final paean of ecstacy she wonders " if there is any nation in the world at once so civilised and so chivalrous " as the Italians ?

That the civilisation of this " chivalrous " nation is dropped in high explosive

bombs and waves of poison gas which blind and blister apparently does not detract, from the Italian's high-minded missionary efforts.

But then Miss Currey did not see the other side of the picture. I was on the Abyssinian side, and I can assure her that there was no joy on the face of the wounded Abyssinian mother moaning for her dead children slain by an Italian bomb in the first air-raid on Dessie.

Still there is no doubt about it but that the Italians are mighty proud of their humanitarian efforts and, generals and non-commissioned officers alike, repeatedly asked the author to explain how good they were to the natives.

For the rest Miss Currey gives a readable picture of the war from the Italian side. The morale of the Italian troops—advancing behind their native levies—was excellent. They were a happy, well-fed crowd, accustomed to the hard life of the Italian peasant, and they apparently did not miss what they had never had—the amusements, sport, and club rooms of the British soldier behind the lines. Up to January of this year the Italians claim to have invalided home only six per thousand of their troops.

The failure of the Abyssinians as guerilla fighters is emphasised. Time and again the author accompanying the advance through wild mountainous country marvelled at the lack of dash and initiative of the Abyssinian forces. Why did they not raid and harrass the lines of communication more frequently ? Italian officers who had fought in Libya remarked : " If we were fighting the Arabs here it would be a very different affair."

There is no doubt about it, the Abyssinians are not successful guerilla fighters. In the past their military successes have been due to skilful strategy, and to their bravery in mob fighting, but in the present conflict any big scale surprise moves by the Emperor's troops are always discovered before they can become effective by the Italian air reconnaissance.

ASIA'S PERFECT WARRIOR

GENGHIS KHAN. By Ralph Fox. *Bodley Head.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR PERCY SYKES

Of Central Asia, our author writes, " two features stand out, the great rivers, and the vast expanses of steppe. Around these features in historical times men began to live in two different ways, tilling the earth, and leading a nomadic life." The homeland of the Mongols was situated to the east of Lake Baikal and, in the valley of the Onon, Temujin, destined to be famous as Chingis Khan, was born.

Temujin was the eldest of four sons and, at the tender age of nine, his father was poisoned, leaving his family miserably poor and deserted by their adherents. However, inspired by his truly great mother, he established his reputation as a brave, wise and crafty youth. As a result he gradually formed a band of loyal adherents, devoted to his person.

The steppe was full of rival chiefs, but Temujin was greater than them all. After long years of struggle during which he suffered many reverses, he conquered all his neighbours and at a *Kuriltai* or tribal Council was given the title of Chingis or " Perfect Warrior."

It was the era of the horse and Chengis was a genius who gradually trained an irresistible army. After establishing his power among the steppe-dwellers he decided to lead his miserably poor tribesmen into China " to sweeten their mouths with the gift of sweet sugar and to bedeck them with brocaded garments."

The extraordinary mobility of the Mongols and the skilled leadership of Chingis, whose intelligence system was excellent, resulted in the defeat and devastation of the Tangut kingdom. Peking was captured. The Mongols destroyed whatever they could not carry away.

A descendant of Chingis once told me that the great conqueror once ascended a mountain in the Altai range and asked his advisers where he should direct his next campaign and received the reply that there was good grazing in the west. However this may be, the Mongols decided to attack Muhammad, the powerful ruler of Central Asia, whose Governor of the frontier fortress of Otrar put to death the ambassadors of Chingis, an insult which the Mongols invariably avenged.

Muhammad, as the author explains, was a most unpopular ruler and, when his field army had been defeated, he resigned the initiative to Chingis who, by an extraordinary desert march, suddenly appeared in his rear at Bokhara.

The Mongol policy was one of extermination, the idea being to leave no hostile city in their rear and to turn the whole country into pasture. In other words to nomadise it. Among the famous cities to be destroyed were Herat and Nishapur. At the latter city, after the usual massacres, the site was flooded and sown with barley and, curiously enough, when I visited its ruined walls, the site was again covered with a crop of barley.

Chingis died, when engaged in a second campaign against the Tanguts. The escort which bore his corpse to be buried at an unknown spot in the homeland massacred every living thing which was met with on the road.

The author has written a valuable work which is based on accurate knowledge and, thanks to his journeys in Mongolia, presents a live picture, which makes delightful reading. It is of special value at a time when Japan is apparently bent on driving a Mongol wedge between the Soviet dominions and northern China. It is, however, as well to realise that the era of the horse has been succeeded by the era of the motor car and the aeroplane.

SHORTER NOTICES

TOWARDS BETTER THINGS. By Nora Hewett. *Longmans, Green.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

A charming and vigorous booklet, describing the origin, history and nature of the International Labour Office at Geneva.

FRANCE. By Cloudesley Brereton. *Heffer, Cambridge.* 1*s.*

A light-hearted, though scholarly, introduction to the spirit of France and the French.

BACK TO GENGHIS KHAN

When Changpei was captured by Manchoukuo forces recently, official documents arriving here were dated " the third year of Emperor Kang Teh of Manchoukuo." For the past week, on the other hand, all documents have been dated " the seven hundred thirtieth year after the accession of Genghis Khan." —*North China Herald, Shanghai.*

CULTURE IN THE KOLKHOZ

Cowherd is Chess Champ.—*Headline, Moscow Daily News.*

THE WORLD OF FINANCE

POLITICAL UNCERTAINTIES DOMINATE MARKETS

By "RAPIER"

THROUGHOUT the month politics have been the prevailing factor in markets both in Europe and in America. The swing to the Left in the French elections, with its implied threat to the *rentier* class started a flight from the franc of a snowball character. Though temporarily checked by M. Blum's assurances that devaluation is not intended by the *Front Populaire*, confidence has been by no means restored, and it is difficult to see how it can be in view of the policy outlined by M. Blum. While he reiterates like Mrs. Micawber that he will never desert his golden spouse he at the same time rejects the deflationary policy pursued by M. Laval and outlines an expansionist policy of large scale public works. How these apparent antinomies can be resolved is a problem of more than academic interest. Nor is it clear how the French Treasury with its growing deficit and high money rates is to finance this vast programme of expenditure which presumably will be in addition to the rearmament outlay already envisaged. The only method appears to be further borrowing from the Bank of France, and further resort to the printing press. The Bank of France, *pace* M. Blum and the Communists, is still an independent body but it will probably prefer to accommodate the Treasury in this way rather than to face the inevitable alternative of devaluation. But the effect of such an inflationist policy upon the franc must be to undermine its stability. It may be possible by official or unofficial interferences with freedom of dealing in foreign exchange to maintain the official value of the franc. But if such subterfuges are resorted to a "black market" for francs is likely to grow up, and the franc to follow the course of the German mark and Italian lira, which though ostensibly on gold are no longer free gold currencies. Already there is a premium on dollar and sterling notes in Paris, and the tourist traffic of foreign visitors to London seeking to turn their francs or other gold currencies into sterling, shows no signs of abating. Both the Dutch guilder and the Swiss franc have shown signs of weakness, for their fate is inevitably linked to that of the French franc.

In these circumstances the London stockmarket has shown a relatively steady tone, but business has been restricted, except in some speculative favourites such as certain gold mining and oil shares, which have risen partly on their intrinsic attractions and partly on buying from the Continent as a hedge against currency devaluation. A more depressing influence in London than currency scares is undoubtedly Sanctions. Any development, such as the fall of Addis Ababa, which held out prospects of an early lifting of sanctions, immediately imparted a better tone to markets. This is no reflection on the morality of stockbrokers who like any other section of the community number among their

ranks persons of all shades of political opinion. It merely reflects the subconscious feeling that a lifting of sanctions would remove one immediate danger of war and increase international trade. This, like most market judgments, is admittedly a short view, but as I have said before, a dealer cannot afford to take too long views in his day-to-day transactions.

Wall Street on the other hand seems to have been much more nervous over the prospects of the French franc than Throgmorton Street. Distance may sometimes lend enchantment to the view but probably because it is seen through a mist. A letter which I recently received from New York illustrates this point. Referring to the recent behaviour of Wall Street my correspondent comments : " You may take it as certain that when Wall Street begins to be affected, or even believes it is affected, by some foreign situation, the amount of misunderstanding circulated about that situation will go up in direct proportion to the interest therein. This is a place where almost anybody will believe anything at almost any time." But he adds even more significantly : " I think the decline in our stockmarket is due almost wholly to the domestic political uncertainties, including the tax bill." The latter seems to be the true explanation of Wall Street's disappointing behaviour in the last few weeks. On the whole trade indices point to the maintenance of business recovery in the States, though there is some doubt about the steel situation, but the reverberations of the bitter Presidential election campaign are undoubtedly a bear point for stockmarkets. On the other hand, for those willing to take long views the yield on many American stocks, even without discounting possibly increased earnings, is becoming very attractive, and I am inclined to stand by my recommendations of last month for those prepared to ignore intermediate fluctuations, and to lock away their investments for a year. There now seems every likelihood that the worst features of the tax bill will be modified by the Senate.

No Foreign Loans

Since the Abyssinian *débacle* rumours that a loan for Italy will be shortly raised either in London or New York have been rife. Mussolini's emissaries have been reported to be making soundings in both centres but any possibility of a loan at this juncture may be dismissed as chimerical, owing to complete absence of willingness to lend. While sanctions continue London could not consider such a proposal, and until war debts are settled Italy is debarred from loans in the States. But in any case Italy's credit standing is not such as to attract lenders.

Recurrent rumours of an impending German loan can equally be dismissed as out of the question in the near future. One has only to look at the quotation of the Young and Dawes loans to see that without a British government guarantee no loan could be raised for Germany on terms which would prove in any way helpful. Nor are even short-term credits to Germany being extended. Mr. Beaumont Pease, Chairman of Lloyds Bank, in a recent speech, said that he was in a position to say that no credits outside the Standstill agreement have been given by any of the London Clearing Banks to Germany. In this matter, he added, there was no reason to believe that the banking community as a whole was acting other than in accordance with what was evidently the general feeling in the House of Commons. Nor are there any developments to report in the negotiations for a long term credit to Russia which has been discussed for many months.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

1. Collective Security
2. Disarmament
3. Peaceful Change

These are the Pillars on which world order must be built

▼

HEADWAY

A monthly review published by the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. (3/6 a year)

▼

Articles by eminent authorities on the chief international affairs of the day

Printed in Great Britain for the Proprietors by The Athenæum Press, Ltd., 13 Bream's Buildings, E.C.4, and Published by Chatto & Windus, 40-42 Chandos Street, W.C.2. Sole Agents for Australasia: GORDON & GOTCH (AUSTRALASIA) LTD. For South Africa: CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY LTD. (London Agents: GORDON & GOTCH LTD.)

TRAVEL · EXPLORATION · ADVENTURE

THE GEOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINE

JULY Number NOW on SALE 1/-

WITH THE JEWS IN PALESTINE

SCOTLAND'S RED DEER

VIENNA, CITY OF BEAUTY

FESTIVAL CEREMONIES IN KOREA

A WOMAN'S JOURNEY TO HUNZA

The issue contains over 70 Photographs and Maps, 8 pages in superb Photogravure and

4 PAGES IN FULL COLOUR

Send 3d. (Postage) for Specimen copy to The Publishers, 40 Chandos St., London, W.C.2

You are anticipating a

HAPPY HOLIDAY

What of those who know no change from the grinding poverty of the slums?

THE SALVATION ARMY

ASKS YOUR AID

£1 gives one mother a week's real holiday in the cheerful surroundings of a S.A. Holiday Home.

10/- provides for a boy or girl. Please send a gift marked "Slum Holidays" to GENERAL EVANGELINE BOOTH, 101 Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.

Armenian Refugee Camp in Syria

OUR DEBT TO ARMENIA AFFECTS OUR HONOUR

If you wish to know why Britain is under obligation to Armenia, write for full particulars to Commander F. C. Corbyn, R.N., Friends of Armenia, 47 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

FRIENDS OF ARMENIA

It's a pleasure to use Euthymol because its delicious TANG is so refreshing and invigorating. Euthymol's fragrant foam kills dental decay germs in less than 30 seconds. Buy a large 1s. 3d. tube of Euthymol from your chemist or send for a 7-day free trial tube.

Send to Dept. 309/94 Euthymol 50 Beak Street, London, W.1 for a free trial sample of Euthymol

Euthymol TOOTH PASTE

Kills dental decay germs in 30 seconds

OVERPRODUCTION?

WE talk about the "want of work." but. evidently. it is not work that is short while want continues ; evidently. the supply of labour cannot be too great, nor the demand for labour too small. when people suffer for the lack of things that labour produces. The real trouble must be that supply is somehow prevented from satisfying demand. that somewhere there is an obstacle which prevents labour from producing the things that labourers want.

Now. what is necessary to enable labour to produce these things. is land. When we speak of labour creating wealth. we speak metaphorically. Man creates nothing. The whole human race. were they to labour for ever. could not create the tiniest mote that floats in a sunbeam—could not make this rolling sphere one atom heavier or one atom lighter. In producing wealth. labour, with the aid of natural forces. but works up. into the forms desired. pre-existing matter, and. to produce wealth. must. therefore. have access to this matter and to these forces—that is to say. to land. The land is the source of all wealth. It is the mine from which must be drawn the ore that labour fashions. It is the substance to which labour gives the form. And. hence. when labour cannot satisfy its wants. may we not with certainty infer that it can be from no other cause than that labour is denied access to land ?

The industrial pyramid manifestly rests on the land. The primary and fundamental occupations. which create a demand for all others. are evidently those which extract wealth from Nature. and. hence. if we trace from one exchange point to another. and from one occupation to another. this check to production which shows itself in decreased purchasing power. we must ultimately find it in some obstacle which checks labour in expending itself on land. And that obstacle. it is clear. is the speculative advance in rent. or the value of land. which produces the same effect as (in fact it is) a lock-out of labour and capital by landowners.

This check to production. beginning at the basis of interlaced industry. propagates itself from exchange point to exchange point. cessation of supply becoming failure of demand until. so to speak. the whole machine is thrown out of gear. and the spectacle is everywhere presented of labour going to waste while labourers suffer from want.

* * *

Professor A. Einstein says of the author of the foregoing passage : " I have read his great book and really learnt a great deal from it. Men like him are rare, unfortunately. One cannot imagine a more beautiful combination of intellectual keenness, artistic form and fervent love of justice. The spreading of these works is a really deserving cause, for our generation especially has many and important things to learn from him."

The author is Henry George, and the book is *Progress and Poverty : An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth.* The new edition, bound in red cloth, 406 pages, is on sale at one shilling, or by post, one shilling and threepence, from the publishers : HENRY GEORGE FOUNDATION, 94 Petty France, London, S.W.1.

Enquire, also, for other shilling titles and full list of publications dealing with Social and Economic subjects. *Advt.*